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# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

# GEORGE BUCHANAN.

BY

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# PREFACE.

THE intellectual endowments of George Buchanan reflect the highest splendour on the land of his nativity; and every scholar who derives his origin from the same country, is bound to cherish and revere his memory. Nor is his reputation confined to his native soil, and to the sister kingdoms; he has received the homage of every learned nation of Europe. The most fastidious of his cotemporaries recognized him as the prince of poets: and by a rare felicity of genius which yet remains without a parallel, he attained to the same preëminence as a writer of prose. His profound and masterly treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, excited the universal odium of those who imagined it absolutely unwarrantable to resist the wildest encroachments of arbitrary power;

but it has taught modern philosophers to discuss the principles of political science with new freedom and energy.

These are not the hardy assertions of a recluse who amuses himself with advancing singular opinions; they are abundantly confirmed by the authority of many distinguished writers of various nations, and of every age from Buchanan's to that in which we live. The high estimation in which he was held by the greatest of modern scholars, will in some measure appear from the subsequent memoirs: but it may not here be superfluous to exhibit the previous testimonies of several British authors of distinction, who flourished during the two centuries which have intervened since his death.

Archbishop Spotswood denominates him "a man so well deserving of his country as none more."[a] Nor can that worthy and able primate be suspected of any undue partiality in his favour.

Bishop Burnet has remarked that "in his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latine tongue,

[a] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 325.

but a vigor of mind and quickness of thought, far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman stile. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them; but his stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, (besides his immortal poems, in which he shews how well he could imitate all the Roman poets, in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original,) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors."[b]

Cowley, speaking of the writers who have executed poetical versions of the psalms, denominates Buchanan "much the best of them all, and indeed a great person."[c]

Dryden, notwithstanding his political prejudices, has likewise mentioned him in terms of high commendation. "Buchanan indeed for the purity of his Latin, and for his learning, and for all other endowments belonging to an historian, might be plac'd amongst the greatest, if he had not

[b] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i, p. 311.

[c] Cowley's pref. to his Pindarique Odes.

too much lean'd to prejudice, and too manifestly declar'd himself a party of a cause, rather than an historian of it. Excepting only that, (which I desire not to urge too far on so great a man, but only to give caution to his readers concerning it,) our isle may justly boast in him, a writer comparable to any of the moderns, and excell'd by few of the ancients."[d]

Sir William Temple, another very popular writer, was also among the number of his admirers. "Thus began the restoration of learning in these parts, with that of the Greek tongue; and soon after, Reuchlyn[e] and Erasmus began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them Buchanan carried it, I think, to the greatest heighth of any of the moderns before or since.."[f]

Lord Monboddo, whose opinion on this

[d] Dryden's Life of Plutarch, p. 56.

[e] Reuchlin has found an industrious biographer in his countryman J. H. Mains; whose publication bears the title of "Vita Jo. Reuchlini Phorcensis, primi in Germania Hebraicarum Græcarumque, et aliarum bonarum Literarum Instauratoris." Durlaci, 1687, 8vo.

[f] Temple's Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 161.

subject at least is not singular, prefers his history to that of Livy. " I will begin with my countryman Buchanan, who has written the history of his own country in Latin, and in such Latin, that I am not afraid to compare his stile with that of any Roman historian. He lived in an age when the Latin language was very much cultivated; and among the learned it was not only the only language in which they wrote, but a living language; for they spoke no other when they conversed together, at least upon learned subjects. . . . In such an age, and with all the advantages of a learned education, did George Buchanan write the history of Scotland from the earliest times down to his own time: and I hesitate not to pronounce that the stile of his narrative is better than that of Livy; for it is as pure and elegant, is better composed in periods not intricate and involved like those of Livy, and without that affected brevity which makes Livy's stile so obscure. Even in speeches, in which Livy is supposed to excel so much, I think his composition is better; and he has none of those short pointed sentences, the *vibrantes senten-*

*tiolæ*, which Livy learned in the school of declamation."[g]

Dr. Stuart, though one of the most strenuous defenders of Queen Mary, could not dissemble the literary excellence of Buchanan. " He passed with propriety from the school to the cabinet, and felt himself alike a scholar and a courtier. In poetry he was deemed unrivalled by his contemporaries. He is more nervous, more various, more elegant than the Italian poets. He has imitated those of Rome with greater grace and purity. His psalms, in which he has employed so many kinds of verse, display admirably the extent and universality of his mind, the quickness and abundance of his fancy, and the power and acuteness of his judgment. In history he has contended with Livy and Sallust. The chequered scenes of his life had given him a wide experience of the world, and he was naturally of a thoughtful disposition. He treats accordingly the transactions of men with great prudence and discernment.... His learning is admirable ; his penetration bet-

[g] Monboddo's Origin and Progress of Language, vol. v, p. 229.

ter than his learning. The vigour of his mind, the interest of his manner, the dignity of his narrative, the deepness of his remark, the purity of his diction, are all conspicuous."[h]

Sir James Mackintosh is not the least eloquent of his distinguished admirers. "The science which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few, the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought was Buchanan, and he too seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable tract, *De Jure Regni*, in which the prin-

[h] Stuart's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 244.

ciples of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."

The fate of a man entitled to such splendid encomiums must certainly excite considerable interest. But even from greater characters than these, he has obtained more enthusiastic commendation: Grotius describes him as *Scotiæ illud numen*, that Scotish divinity.

The history of Buchanan is the history of an individual unrivalled in modern times. To have selected so important and so difficult a subject, may seem to require an apology: but if important subjects were only to be investigated by men endowed with every qualification, the number of literary productions would be prodigiously diminished. These memoirs claim no other merit than that of good intentions; and they may possibly suggest a fortunate undertaking to some more competent enquirer.

A few years previous to Buchanan's death,

i Mackintosh's Defence of the French Revolution, p. 309.

some of his numerous friends felt a laudable solicitude to secure authentic memorials of so illustrious a character. With this view, Sir Thomas Randolph addressed a letter to Young, which is not unworthy of our present attention.

" After my verie hartie commendacions. Beinge lately mouid with the remembrance of my maister Mr. G. Buchanan by the sight of a booke of his, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and callinge to mynde the notable actes of his lyfe, his studie, his trauayle, his danger, his wisdome, his learninge, and, to be short, as muche as could be wished in a man ; I thought the kinge your maister more happie that had Buchanan to his maister, then Alexander the Great that had Aristotell his instructor. I thought you very lukye that had his daily company, ioynid in office of lyke seruice, and thanckid God not a litle for my self, that euer I was acquaintid with him. For one that hath so great acquaintance as he hath with many learnid, and compaignons of his lyfe, and that hath so wel deseruid of the worlde, I maruaille that no man hath written of it ; beinge a thinge so common vnto all famous per-

sonnes, and most peculiar to the best learnid. Heerin I might chieflie blame you, my good freind Maister Yonge, so neere vnto him, so deere vnto him, that nothinge can be hid of that which you desyre to knowe. If you say that tyme yeat seruithe, and that he yeat liuethe whose life I wishe to be sett foorthe, surelie yeat I say vnto you that yf it be donne after his deathe, many thinges may be omittid that were worthie of famous memorie, by him to be better knowen then after his deathe. The cause of the wrytinge against the grey friars is knowen to many: but afterwardes howe they preuailid against him, that he was fayne to leaue his contrey, howe he escapid with great hazard of lyfe at Godes hand, the thieues on the borders, the plague in the north of England, what reliefe he found heere at a famous knightes handes, Sir John Rainsforde, the onlie man that maintaynid him against the furie of the Papistes; none doth knowe so well as him self, or can giue better notes of his life then him self can. As he liuith vertuouslie, so I doubt not but he will dye Christianly, and [this] may be addid when the former is perfectlie knowen.

This is desirid by many, specially lookid for at your handes, that can best doe, and are fittest to trauayle in so worthie a worke. As I craue this at your handes, so shall you command what is my power. And thus wishinge vnto yow, my good freind, hartely well, I take my leaue. London, the 15th of Marche 1579."[k]

It is certainly to be regretted that Sir Peter Young declined the task which was thus suggested with such commendable zeal; for it was evidently in his power to exhibit a copious and authentic account of his admirable colleague. About the crisis to which our attention is now directed, Buchanan, at the request of his friends, composed a brief memoir of the principal events of his long and variegated life. This biographical tract displays his wonted modesty and elegance: but it descends no later than the period of his final return to Scotland; and the whole of it only occupies seven small pages. Nor is the author sufficiently careful to mark the chronological succession of the events which he there records. This rapid sketch, so far as it extends, is however our safest

k Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 19.

guide. An edition of it was long afterwards published by Sir Robert Sibbald; who added several biographical notices, and augmented the number of the testimonies collected by Sir Thomas Pope Blount.

The name of Buchanan, it may be almost superfluous to remark, occurs in every collection of general biography. The article inserted in the very curious work of Bayle, is extremely defective: this acute and singular man seems to have been but little acquainted with the productions of Buchanan, and still less with the genuine character of their author. But to the learned and indefatigable Le Clerc our obligations are not inconsiderable. This writer, who, in the year 1706, inserted in one of his periodical publications a dissertation *De George Buchanan et de ses Ouvrages*,[1] had evidently perused his works with attention, and had formed no injudicious estimate of his personal and literary merits.

Still however no other separate memoir had been undertaken, or at least had made its appearance. During the earlier part of last century, George Crawfurd addressed to the

[1] Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. viii, p. 106.

gentlemen of the name of Buchanan, proposals for writing and publishing the life of this illustrious scholar; but his project seems not to have been received with adequate encouragement. He proceeded however to the completion of his work: and in the year 1751, after the author's decease, proposals for printing it were issued at Glasgow, but with no better success.[m] A biographical account of Buchanan was also composed by Mr. Wodrow;[n] and, like Crawfurd's production, it still remains unpublished. These manuscript works I have never seen. At a more recent period, the task of writing his life was successively recommended, by the earl of Buchan, to Dr. Stuart and to Dr. Dunbar: and either of those able men could have invested the subject with charms, which the reader will in vain expect to discover in the subsequent pages. If however we consider the complexion of Dr. Stuart's history of Scotland, his declining this undertaking can certainly excite very little regret: but the eloquence and superior candour of Dr. Dun-

[m] Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, p. 309.

[n] Love's Vindication of Buchanan, p. 40.

bar would have enabled him to display the variegated excellence of Buchanan with powerful effect.

Although no regular account of his life was composed by Mr. Ruddiman, yet from the labours of that learned and worthy man I have derived very important aid. His edition of the works of Buchanan[o] is entitled to high commendation. The plan of such a collection was originally formed by George Mosman; and the impression was actually proceeding in the year 1702.[p] After a few sheets had been completed, the property was transferred to Robert Freebairn, printer to the king, and Ruddiman was by him engaged in the undertaking;[q] but the edition did not make its appearance till the year 1715. It reflects equal credit on the printer and on the editor. Ruddiman's masterly acquaintance with philology, and with the history of his native country, had eminently qualified him for his laborious task. The accuracy of the text, and the utility of his illustrations, are equally con-

[o] Edinb. 1715, 2 tom. fol.

[p] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, præf.

[q] Ruddiman's Anticrisis, p. 22.

spicuous. He has prefixed a copious and satisfactory preface; and, among other appendages, has added a curious and critical dissertation *De Metris Buchananæis*. His annotations on Buchanan's history are particularly elaborate and valuable; but it is to be lamented that his narrow politics should so frequently have diverted him from the more useful tracts of enquiry. Where political prejudices intervene, he is too eager to contradict his author; and he often attempts, by very slender and incompetent proofs, to extenuate the authenticity of his narration. In illustrating the moral and literary character of Buchanan, he spent many years of his life. With great zeal and success, he afterwards vindicated his paraphrase of the psalms against the frivolous objections of Mr. Benson; but his political prejudices seem to have encreased with the number of his years. His controversies with Mr. Love and Mr. Man were conducted with sufficient pertinacity; though it must be acknowledged that the advantage of learning, and even of candour, generally inclines to Ruddiman's side. The perusal of his controversial works in the or-

der of their composition, is a task of considerable interest and edification. When he concluded his annotations on the life of Buchanan, he was disposed to regard him, with Nathan Chytræus, as "a most excellent and most innocent man, and entitled to perpetual remembrance on account of his exquisite learning and dignity;" but when galled by his antagonists, and mortified by the fading hopes of the royal house of Stewart, he gradually adopted new opinions which were not founded on any new evidence. It must frequently have occurred to his reflections, that Buchanan had essentially contributed to the dissemination of those doctrines which led to the revolution; and after the hopes of the Jacobites were completely blasted, he expressed himself with a degree of asperity which is chiefly to be regretted for his own sake. One example will probably be deemed sufficient. "But, alas! what will his great admirers gain by that concession? Only this, that they make him die an hardened and impenitent sinner; and rather than his reputation, or more truly that of their own cause, should suffer in this world, they

choose *(horresco referens!)* to let him drop into hell in the next."[r] On various topics connected with the personal character of Buchanan, his reasoning is not very much superior to that of his egregious biographer: nor is this to be imputed to his want of acuteness, but to his eagerness in defending opinions which had been fiercely attacked, and which in reality were indefencible.

The political tendency of his preface and notes was so far from being agreeable to the admirers of Buchanan, that an association, consisting of Mr. Anderson, the Rev. George Logan, and many other adherents of the Whig party, was speedily formed at Edinburgh for the express purpose of vindicating their favourite author in a new edition of his works.[s] Their efforts however proved abortive, and the task of editorship devolved into more able hands. Ten years after the appearance of Ruddiman's edition, another[t] was published by Dr. Peter Burman of Leyden; a most indefatigable and useful labourer in the province

[r] Ruddiman's Animadversions, p. 13.

[s] Chalmers, p. 74.

[t] Lugd. Bat. 1725, 2 tom. 4to.

of philology. Arrested by the frequent and wide variance between the author and his *jure divino* editor, Burman had nearly been induced to relinquish his undertaking, and to advise his printer Langerak to procure assistance from Scotland, where the authenticity of the facts could best be ascertained. Of the new edition meditated at Edinburgh he was likewise apprized, though it does not appear, as some authors pretend, that the associated critics made him a voluntary offer of private assistance. The printer however urging him to proceed without waiting for this vindicatory edition, he at length republished the works of Buchanan, together with Ruddiman's preface, notes, dissertation, and other appendages. The annotations which he himself subjoined are almost entirely of the philological kind. His other engagements did not permit him to undertake the office of superintending the press; and accordingly his edition is somewhat less correct than that of Ruddiman. The general value of his predecessor's labours he acknowledges in terms of due respect;[u] but he occasionally rejects

[u] "Sine controversia ab omnibus eruditis insignem iniit

his particular opinions in a manner which that learned man was disposed to regard as contemptuous; and some of his expressions relative to British literature, and to the country of Buchanan, were such as could not easily be forgotten. Two years afterwards, when Ruddiman edited the poems of Dr. Pitcairne,[x] he eagerly embraced an opportunity of asserting the honour of his native land; and the same topics were yet fresh in his recollection when he resumed his long labours at the venerable age of eighty-one. "It came very ill from a Dutch professor," he remarks, "to undervalue a people or country, to whose valour his republick is so much indebted for its flourishing condition, and from whose troops it has received so much benefit and advantage. And I will add too that it was both ingrate and impertinent in him to speak to the disadvantage of a country, from whence so many young noblemen and gentlemen year-

gratiam, vir et rerum patriarum scientia, et elegantioris doctrinæ copiis instructissimus, Thomas Ruddimannus; cum hanc in se provinciam, plenam tædii et molestiarum, suscipere non recusaret." (Burmanni *Præf. in Buchananum.*)

[x] Edinb. 1727, 12mo.

ly repaired to him, for improvement in their studies; and by whom, no doubt, he was liberally rewarded for his instructions. But as Mr. Burman was glad, as I am told, to own himself in the wrong, to several Scots gentlemen, who had been his disciples, and has been pretty roundly chastised for it by others, I shall say no more of it in this place."[y] To these circumstances I merely allude as characteristic of the excellent old man, and without any very strong inclination to adopt the full measure of his resentment. The inhabitants of every country have been undervalued in their turn; and few nations of ancient or modern Europe have experienced greater injustice than that to which Burman himself belonged.

These are the only collective editions of Buchanan which have hitherto appeared; but it was justly remarked by the learned professor that, with the exception of Erasmus, no modern writer had so frequently visited the press.[z] His works have been

[y] Ruddiman's Further Vindication, p. 54.

[z] "Ut inter recentiores scriptores," says Burman, "qui a renatis literis nomen ullum sunt consecuti, si unum Erasmum

published in every possible form, and with all the attention usually bestowed on those of an ancient classic. The edition quoted in the subsequent memoirs is uniformly that of Ruddiman. The incorrectness and variations of the earlier impressions have afforded his commentators no inconsiderable exercise; and although he flourished after the invention of printing, they have frequently had recourse to the aid of manuscripts. A new and splendid edition of the works of Buchanan might reflect the highest credit on the Edinburgh press. It ought to contain the two Scotish compositions excluded by Ruddiman and Burman, together with such fugitive pieces as may yet be recovered. Several unpublished poems ascribed to Buchanan, occur among the Cotton MSS. preserved in the British Museum; but some of them have been mutilated by the unfortunate conflagration of 1731.

excipias, nullus ostendi posset, qui toties præla fatigaverit, et tam perpetuo per omnia tempora tenore famam et gloriam tenuerit. Nullum ego, si ab antiquioribus decesseris, celebrari umquam audivi aut legi, qui cum Buchanano contendere possit; aut cujus scripta tam assidua doctorum virorum manu versata, et etiam in publicis et privatis scholis pueris et adolescentibus ediscenda fuerint data."

The literary productions of Buchanan have now stood the test of several ages; and every candid investigation of his personal character will unquestionably tend to renew that unborrowed splendour, which "evil days and evil tongues" have contributed in some measure to obscure. His generous and manly principles have rendered him extremely odious to the advocates of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. It was moreover his fortune to coöperate with statesmen who effected the downfal of a princess, whose personal accomplishments, and unexampled sufferings, have served to throw an imposing veil over the most atrocious of her actions. Animated with a spirit of chivalry, and therefore utterly incapable of sober investigation, various champions have arisen in defence of her innocence: but if some of those mighty redressers of wrongs have manifested a daring contempt of historical and moral evidence; if they have with astonishing pertinacity endeavoured to destroy the credit of the most authentic documents; if, in order to vindicate Queen Mary, they have found it necessary to represent each of her enemies as possessed with at least seven

devils; it would require no ordinary share of charity to suppose, that they are sincere lovers of that distributive justice of which they profess to be so deeply enamoured. The artifices of those writers have been exposed, and their arguments most completely refuted, by Dr. Robertson and Mr. Laing; nor is it very probable that any future vindicator of Queen Mary will succeed in imposing, by his sophistical verbosity, on the good nature of a British public.

Many obvious causes have long contributed to expose Buchanan to the obloquy of illiberal men, whose approbation he had no wish to secure.[a] But the most extraordinary attack which he has yet sustained was from the pen of Mr. George Chalmers; a critic unacquainted with the works of Buchanan, and even with the language in which they are chiefly composed. This pompous and obtuse writer, who has plentifully scattered the most clumsy abuse, I

[a] The subsequent passage occurs in the editor's preface to Sir Philip Warwick's *Discourse of Government*. Lond. 1694, 8vo. "The disciples and followers of Buchanan, Hobbes, and Milton, have exceeded their masters in downright impudence, scurrility, and lying."

have certainly treated with very little ceremony:[b] nor is much tenderness due to the feelings of a man who has so grossly violated the sanctuary of the venerable dead.[c] His total want of classical learning, the grim fatuity of his style, and even the perpetual obliquity of his judgment, might easily have escaped severe animadversion; but, to adopt his own phraseology, "our detractor's zeal of calumny" must excite the utter indignation of every reflecting mind. His rancour indeed is not only impotent, but, on many occasions, even ludicrous; and it may perhaps be deemed a work of supererogation, to expose ignorance or folly which so clearly exposes itself. He wrote at a crisis when it was easy to acquire a golden stock of merit, by stig-

[b] For, as St. Gregory remarks, "aliter admonendi sunt impudentes, atque aliter verecundi. Illos namque ab impudentiæ vitio non nisi increpatio dura compescit; istos autem plerunque ad melius exhortatio modesta componit." (*De Cura Pastorali*, p. 107, edit. Jer. Stephani. Lond. 1629, 8vo.)

[c] Dr. Eglisham's treatment of Buchanan drew from Daniel Heinsius these expressions of poignant indignation. "Quominus est ferendum, esse hominem tam confidentem qui leoni mortuo insultet. Sed et pulices et pedes idem faciunt; animalia quæ e putredine nascuntur." (Burmanni *Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. ii, p. 451.)

matizing the king's best subjects with the odious brand of wild democracy. Of this timely circumstance he has repeatedly availed himself in a very preposterous manner; and it was apparently the swelling consciousness of what was then termed loyalty, that augmented his provision of native insolence. To involve Buchanan and his admirers in the flagrant odium of French principles, was a stratagem not unworthy of its author's liberal dexterity. The subsequent lines of his *Jephthes* Buchanan might almost be suspected of having composed with a prophetic allusion to this phœnix of modern literature.

> Nunc quo quis est e plebe ferme indoctior,
> Auctoritatem assumit arrogantius
> Dijudicandi in rebus obscurissimis;
> Et pertinaci (quod fere ignorantiæ est)
> Animo tuetur dogma susceptum semel.
> Nec interim æquo expendit examine, mala
> An recta sint quæ pertinaciter tenet:
> Sed quum inter omnes maxime cæcutiat,
> Cæcus videntes cæcitatis arguit.
> Ut cui perusta febre fervent viscera,
> Amara cuncta credit, unumque autumat
> Se sapere, quum desipiat unus maxime.

But the nation has now begun to recover

from its general phrensy; and a man may perhaps venture to pay some slight regard to reason and common sense, without incurring the hazard of being deemed unworthy to breathe in British air. The ardent wishes of Buchanan's heart were continually directed towards the best interests of mankind. It is not the intention of his humble biographer to promote the insane projects of desperate visionaries; but it is equally incompatible with his views to "rebellow to the roar" of that degrading phraseology, which of late has so frequently insulted the dignity of a free and enlightened people. His opinions, which are simple and honest, he has delivered without ambition and without timidity; without any superfluous allusion to subjects apt to inflame the passions of his cotemporaries, but with a total disregard of those sinister and distorted applications, so familiar to certain individuals whose praise is no recommendation.

*December 5*, 1805.

# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

# GEORGE BUCHANAN.

BUCHANAN was born in an age of little refinement, and enjoyed none of the early advantages which result from hereditary wealth; but his intrinsic greatness of mind enabled him to emerge from original obscurity, and to earn a reputation which can only decay with literature itself. By the universal suffrage of the learned, he has been stationed near the summit of modern renown; but his moral qualities are sometimes considered as more equivocal. His character has however been subjected to a most rigid and inhuman scrutiny: his genuine actions have been misrepresented, if not with all the powers, certainly with

all the propensities, of the vilest sophistry; and many fictitious actions have been industriously imputed to him, for the sake of completing the picture of his iniquities. He has a thousand times been upbraided with horrible ingratitude for favours which he never received. To prove the purest of mankind guilty of the most heinous crimes, will always be extremely easy, where passion and prejudice are permitted to supply every deficiency of evidence; where the witnesses are strangers to common veracity, and the judges utterly unable or unwilling to appretiate their testimony. The character of Buchanan excited the respect and even the veneration of cotemporaries highly distinguished for their moral virtues, and for their intellectual endowments; and it unquestionably suggests another strong presumption in his favour, that notwithstanding all the persevering anxiety of a regular succession of enemies, political and theological, his long and chequered life has actually been found to betray so few of the frailties inseparable from humanity. His stern integrity, his love of his country and of mankind, cannot fail of endearing his memory to those who possess congenial qualities; and such errors as he really committed, will not perhaps be deemed unpardonable by those who recollect that they are also men.

George Buchanan was born about the beginning of February, in the year 1506. His father was Thomas, the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drummikill, his mother Agnes Heriot of the family of Trabroun.[a] The house from which he descended he has himself characterized as more remarkable for its antiquity than for its opulence. The only patrimony which his father inherited, was the farm of Mid-Leowen, or, as it is more commonly denominated, the Moss, situated in the parish of Killearn and county of Stirling. During the lifetime of the present proprietor, Mr. William Finlay, who has now attained to the primitive age of ninety, the farm-house in which Buchanan was born, has twice been rebuilt: but on each occasion, its original dimensions and characteristics have been studiously preserved; and an oak beam, together with an intermediate wall, has even retained its ancient position. The present building, which may be considered as a correct model of Buchanan's paternal residence, is a lowly cottage thatched with straw; but this cottage is still visited with a kind of religious veneration. A fragment of the oak is regarded as a precious relique; and an Irish student who thirsted for a portion of Buchanan's inspiration, is known to have travelled from Glasgow, for the purpose of visiting the house,

[a] Will. Buchanan's Essay upon the Family and Surname of Buchanan, p. 87. 8vo.

and passing a night directly under the original beam.[b]

Buchanan's father died of the stone at a premature age; and, about the same period, his grandfather found himself in a state of insolvency. The family, which had never been opulent, was thus reduced to extreme poverty: but his mother struggled hard with the misery of her condition; and all her children, five sons and three daughters, arrived at the age of maturity.[c] The third son, whose extraordinary attainments have rendered the family illustrious, is reported by oral tradition, which must not however be too rashly credited, to have been indebted for the rudiments of learning to the public school of Killearn; which long continued to maintain a very considerable degree of celebrity. Mid-Leowen, which stands on the banks of the Blane,[d] is situated at the distance of about two miles from the village; and it may be conjectured that the future poet and statesman daily walked

b Nimmo's Hist. of Stirlingshire, p. 368. Edinb. 1777, 8vo.

c In the year 1531, a lease of two farms near Cardross was granted by Robert Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh and Inchmahome, to Agnes Heriot and three of her sons, Patrick, Alexander, and George. (Anderson's *Life of Smollett*, p. 12, 5th edit. Edinb. 1806, 8vo.)

d Triumphant even the yellow Blane,
Tho' by a fen defac'd,
Boasts that Buchanan's early strain
Consol'd her troubl'd breast;
That often, muse-struck, in her lonliest nook
The orphan boy por'd on some metred book.

RICHARDSON.

to school, and bore along with him his meridian repast. A considerable number of trees, which he is said to have planted in his school-boy days, are still to be seen in the immediate vicinity of his native cottage: a mountain ash, conspicuous for its age and magnitude, was lately torn from its roots by the violence of a storm; but two fresh scions which arose from its ruins, have been nourished and protected with anxious care. Nor is the name of his mother without its rural memorial; a place which had been adapted to the purpose of shielding her flock, is still denominated Heriot's Shiels.[e]

Buchanan, if we may credit a writer whose authority is extremely slender, was afterwards removed to the school of Dumbarton.[f] His unfolding genius recommended him to the favour and protection of his maternal uncle James Heriot; who, apparently in the year 1520, sent him to prosecute his studies in the university of Paris. It was here that he began to cultivate his poetical talents; partly impelled, as he informs us, by the natural temperament of his mind, partly by the necessity of performing the usual exercises prescribed to younger students. Buchanan did not profess to be one of those bright geniuses who can acquire a new language every six weeks:

[e] Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xvi, p. 105.

[f] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii, p. 156.

he incidentally suggests that his knowledge of Latin was the result of much juvenile labour.[g] The Greek tongue, in which he likewise attained to proficiency, he acquired without the aid of a preceptor.[h] Within the space of two years after his arrival at Paris, his uncle died, and left him exposed to want in a foreign country. His misery was increased by a violent distemper, which had perhaps been occasioned by poverty and mortification. And in this state of hopeless languor, he returned to Scotland at the critical age of sixteen.

Having devoted the best part of a year to the care of his health, he next assumed the character of a soldier, and served along with the auxiliaries whom the duke of Albany had conducted from France. The Scotish forces, commanded by the regent in person, marched towards the borders of England; and, about the end of October 1523 laid siege to the castle of Werk. The auxiliaries carried the exterior wall by assault, but could

[g] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 4.

[h] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 25.—Fruterius seems to extol his eloquence in the Greek as well as in the Latin language; but if he composed Greek verses, he certainly did not publish them.

Ille, Buchanani felix cognomine, vates,
Se eriperet nostris perpetuum ex oculis?
Ille, cui geminæ dives facundia linguæ
Ponit honoratis æmula serta comis;
Quemque adeo Musæ (sic sint mea gloria Musæ)
Et docuere sacros et didicere modos.

Fruterii Reliquiæ, p. 141.

not long occupy the station which they had won. The large area between the two ramparts, intended as a receptacle, during the time of war, for the cattle and stores of the neighbouring peasantry, was at this crisis replenished with materials of a combustible nature. When the garrison found themselves repulsed by the French soldiers, they set fire to the straw, and speedily expelled their enemies by the flames and smoke. During the two following days, the assailants persisted in battering the inner wall: when they had effected a sufficient breach, the French auxiliaries again rushed to the attack, and surmounted the ruins; but were so fiercely assaulted by missile weapons from the inner tower, which was yet entire, that after having sustained some loss, they were compelled to retreat, and repassed the Tweed. The duke finding his native troops disaffected, and the army on the English frontiers too formidable from its numbers, removed his camp on the eleventh of November; and as he marched towards Lauder after midnight, his army was terribly annoyed by a sudden storm of snow.[1]

Buchanan, who belonged to a fierce and warlike nation, seems to have caught some portion of the military ardour. It was his youthful curiosity respecting the profession of arms which

[1] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 265.

had prompted him thus to mingle in danger; and he was persuaded that between the studies of literature and of war a very close affinity obtains.[k] In his history of Scotland, written at an advanced age, he often describes feats of chivalry with great animation. But his experience in the course of this inglorious campaign, did not render him more enamoured of a military life: the hardships which he had undergone, reduced him to his former state of languor; and during the rest of the winter he was confined to bed.

In the beginning of the ensuing spring, when he had completed the eighteenth year of his age, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews. Patrick Buchanan, his eldest brother, was matriculated at the same time.[l] On the third of Oc-

k "Cum in patria valetudini curandæ prope annum dedisset, cum auxiliis Gallorum qui tum in Scotiam appulerant, *studio rei militaris cognoscendæ* in castra est profectus." (*Buchanani Vita, ab ipso scripta*, p 2.) In his dedication of *Jephthes*, he expresses himself thus: "Neque enim inter rei militaris et literarum studium ea est, quam plerique falso putant, discordia; sed summa potius concordia, et occulta quædam naturæ conspiratio."

l Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 65.—The following verses of Buchanan are devoted to his brother's memory, and are equally honourable to both.

Si mihi privato fas indulgere dolori,
Ereptum, frater, te mihi jure fleam;
Nostra bonis raros cui protulit artibus ætas,
Et nivea morum simplicitate pares.
At si gratandum lætis est rebus amici,
Gratulor immensis quod potiare bonis:
Omnia quippe piæ vitæ et sinceriter actæ
Præmia securus non peritura tenes.

BUCHANAN. Epigram. lib. ii, 28.

tober 1525, George Buchanan received the degree of bachelor of arts; and it appears from the faculty register, that he was then a *pauper*, or exhibitioner.[m] At this period the famous John Mair taught logic in St. Salvator's College. Buchanan informs us that it was to attend his prelections that he had been sent to St. Andrews, and that he afterwards followed Mair to France.[n] Dr. Irving has very confidently averred, that he was now a dependant on the bounty of this venerable commentator on Peter of Lombardy; and the same assertion has been industriously repeated by Dr. Mackenzie, and other writers of a similar denomination.[o] If it could be established

[m] Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, p. 312.

[n] "Hunc in Galliam æstate proxima sequutus, in flammam Lutheranæ sectæ, jam late se spargentem, incidit: ac biennium fere cum iniquitate fortunæ colluctatus, tandem in Collegium Barbaranum accitus, prope triennium classi grammaticam discentium præfuit." (*Buchanani Vita*, p. 2.) The context might lead us to suppose that Buchanan followed Mair to France in the summer of 1524: but the meaning of the passage undoubtedly is, that he returned to France the summer after Mair. From a subsequent note, it will appear that his appointment to a regency in the College of St. Barbe took place in 1529. His return to that country must therefore be referred to the year 1527.

[o] Dr. Mackenzie's account of the connection between Mair and Buchanan is extremely curious. "Being informed that he was a youth of excellent parts, and reduced to great necessities, he sent for him in the beginning of the year 1524, and took him into his service, he being then in the 18th year of his age. The next summer his master going over to Paris, he took Buchanan alongst with him, and kept him in his service there for two years, but not thinking his service a suitable encouragement for so great a genius, he procured for him a regency in the College of St. Barbe, in the year 1526. For all which good offices done to him by his learned and worthy master, he returned his thanks in the following scan-

by any adequate degree of evidence, the character of Buchanan must consequently be subjected to severe reprehension; for he mentions his supposed benefactor in terms which convey no suggestion of gratitude. Of this generous patronage however there is not even the faintest shadow of evidence; and the tale manifestly originated from Dr. Irving's misinterpretation of a very unequivocal passage in Buchanan's account of his own life.

dalous epigram.... And this was the first time he showed his ingratitude to his benefactors, which, as we shall show, was the great and unpardonable blemish of his whole life." (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii, p. 157.) This account is to be regarded as little better than pure fiction; but the praise of invention is not solely due to Mackenzie. "He who had eat his bread," says Dr. Irving, "and liv'd under his discipline, both in St. Andrews, and in the Sorbon, the space of five years, might have afforded him an handsomer character than, *solo cognomine Major*: but 'tis a frequent stratagem of supine and treacherous souls to give a large return of malice and reproach to their benefactors, in lieu of thankful acknowledgments." (*Historiæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura*, p. 163. Edinb. 1682, 8vo.) Irving and Mackenzie have deduced all these preposterous inferences from the subsequent passage in Buchanan's account of his own life. "Primo vere ad Fanum Andreæ missus est, ad Joannem Majorem audiendum, qui tum ibi dialecticen, aut verius sophisticen, in extrema senectute docebat. Hunc in Galliam æstate proxima sequutus, in flammam Lutheranæ sectæ, jam late se spargentem, incidit."—Buchanan's obnoxious epigram is entitled "In Joannem solo cognomento Majorem, ut ipse in fronte libri sui scripsit." (Lib. i, 51.)

Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat:
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

Hector Boyce regarded the writings of Mair in a more favourable light: "Joannes Major theologus eruditissimus, cujus scripta haud aliter quam illuminatissimæ faces magnum Christianæ religioni attulere fulgorem." (*Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ*, f. xxvii, b. Paris. 1522, 4to.)

Upon his return to France, he became a student in the Scotish College of Paris. On the tenth of October 1527, he was incorporated a bachelor of arts, and he received the higher degree next March.[p] During the following year, 1529, he was a candidate for the office of procurator of the German nation; but his blind compatriot Robert Wauchope, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, was elected for the ninth time. Buchanan was thus repulsed on the fifth of May, but on the third of June he was more successful.[q] The university of Paris being frequented by students from various countries, they were distributed into four classes or nations. What was termed the German nation, comprehended the Scotish academics.

[p] Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, p. 313.

[q] "Georgius Buchananus Scotus," says Bulæus, "nationis Germanicæ procurator electus anno 1533." (*Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis*, tom v, p. 935.) This date is most probably erroneous; for Buchanan was then tutor to the earl of Cassilis. Mr. Chalmers quotes the authority of the register of the Scotish College, which the late Principal Gordon had inspected at his request. A man who had only to ascertain the chronology of a single academic, was less obnoxious to negligence or inadvertency, than he who had to ascertain that of five hundred. Bulæus has exhibited many dates which are manifestly inaccurate; but his work consists of six volumes in folio. Mr Innes, who was a member of the university of Paris, varies from both these writers. Buchanan, he remarks, "came back to Paris A. D. 1527, and upon proof of his being made batchelor of arts in the university of St. Andrews, he was, according to the privilege our Scotish universities enjoyed in those times in Paris, admitted to the same degree in that university, and commenced master of arts in April 1528, and in June 1530, he was elected one of the four procurators." (*Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 314.)

Before this period, the tenets of Luther had begun to be widely disseminated, and to second the prepossessions of young and ingenuous minds. Buchanan, on his return to Paris, was caught by the spreading flame. His Lutheranism seems to have exposed him to new mortifications; for after he had discovered his attachment, he continued for the space of nearly two years to struggle with the iniquity of fortune. At the expiration of that term, he was appointed a regent or professor in the College of St. Barbe, where he taught grammar for about three years. His eminent qualifications for such an employment will not be questioned; but his services seem to have procured him a very inadequate remuneration. In an elegy apparently composed during this period of his life, he exhibits a dismal picture of the miseries to which the Parisian professors of humanity were then exposed. It opens with the subsequent lines.

Ite leves nugæ, sterilesque valete Camœnæ,
Grataque Phœbæo Castalis unda choro:
Ite, sat est: primos vobiscum absumpsimus annos,
Optima pars vitæ deperiitque meæ.
Quærite quem capiat jejuna cantus in umbra:
Quærite qui pota carmina cantet aqua.
Dulcibus illecebris tenerum vos fallitis ævum,
Dum sequitur blandæ carmen inerme lyræ.
Debita militiæ molli languescit in umbra,
Et fluit ignavis fracta juventa sonis.

Ante diem curvos senium grave contrahit artus,
Imminet ante suum mors properata diem :
Ora notat pallor, macies in corpore toto est,
Et tetrico in vultu mortis imago sedet.
Otia dum captas, præceps in mille labores
Irruis, et curis angeris usque novis.
Nocte leves somnos resolutus compede fossor
Carpit, et in mediis nauta quiescit aquis:
Nocte leves somnos carpit defessus arator,
Nocte quies ventis, Ionioque mari :
Nocte tibi nigræ fuligo bibenda lucernæ,
Si modo Calliopes castra sequenda putes :
Et tanquam Libyco serves curvata metallo
Robora, et Herculea poma ferenda manu,
Pervigil in lucem lecta atque relecta revolves,
Et putri excuties scripta sepulta situ.
Sæpe caput scalpes, et vivos roseris ungues,
Irata feries pulpita sæpe manu.
Hinc subitæ mortes, et spes prærepta senectæ,
Nec tibi fert Clio, nec tibi Phœbus opem.

The poverty which then attended the professors of polite literature,[r] he has delineated more forcibly towards the close.

[r] " Quis porro non indignetur," says Budæus, " eam disciplinam et professionem quæ omneis alias complectitur, atque intra suum orbem coercet, quæ suis finibus singulas quasi architectonico jure circumscribit, a schola Parisiensi quæ ut metropolis sit ipsa omnium scholarum, et censeatur : omnium ut opinor) ipsarum bona venia et assensione licet) inscitia temporum, et pauperie in re literaria facta, e numero disciplinarum exauctoratam esse ? e præsidiisque ejectam Palladis, atque ejus ære dirutam ?" *(De Philologia*, f. xxii. Excudebat Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1532, 4to.) Budæus and Cardinal du Bellay induced Francis the first to allot an annual stipend to public professors of the learned languages; and Castellanus afterwards exerted his influence with the same

Denique quicquid agis, comes assidet improba egestas,
Sive poema canis, sive poema doces.
Bella gerunt urbes septem de patria Homeri:
Nulla domus vivo, patria nulla fuit.
Æger, inops patrios deplorat Tityrus agros,
Statius instantem vix fugat arte famem.
Exul Hyperboreum Naso projectus ad axem,
Exilium Musis imputat ille suum.
Ipse Deus vatum vaccas pavisse Pheræas
Creditur, Æmonios et numerasse greges,
Calliope longum cœlebs cur vixit in ævum?
Nempe nihil doti quod numeraret erat.
Interea celeri cursu delabitur ætas,
Et queritur duram tarda senecta famem:
Et dolet ignavis studiis lusisse juventam,
Jactaque in infidam semina mœret humum;
Nullaque maturis congesta viatica canis,
Nec faciles portus jam reperire ratem.
Ite igitur Musæ steriles, aliumque ministrum
Quærite: nos alio sors animusque vocat.[4]

This elegy, which is the first in the order of arrangement, was perhaps the first in the order of composition. It was apparently in the year 1529 that he began to teach in the College of St. Barbe: he must therefore have commenced his professorial functions about the age of twenty-three. Muretus began to teach in the archiepiscopal College of Auch at the earlier age

munificent prince to confirm so useful an establishment. (Regii *Vita Guilielmi Budæi*, p. 44. Paris. 1540, 4to. Gallandii *Vita Petri Castellani*, p. 49. Paris. 1674, 8vo.)

[4] Buchanani Elegia i. *Quam misera sit conditio docentium litteras humaniores Lutetiæ.*

of eighteen;[t] and at the same age Philelphus read lectures on eloquence to a numerous auditory in the university of Padua.[u]

If the elegy was actually composed about this period, the new employment to which the author alludes was evidently that of superintending the studies of a young Scotish nobleman. Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, who was residing near the College of St. Barbe, having become acquainted with Buchanan, admired his literary talents, and was delighted with his conversation. He was therefore solicitous to retain so accomplished a preceptor; and their closer connection probably commenced in the year 1532. The first work that Buchanan committed to the press, was a translation of the famous Thomas Linacre's rudiments of Latin grammar; which he inscribed to Lord Cassilis, "a youth of the most promising talents, and of an excellent disposition." This Latin version was printed by R. Stephanus in 1533.

After he had resided with his pupil for the term of five years, they both returned to Scotland.[x] At this period, the earl had probably at-

[t] Jos. Scaligeri Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum, p. 451.

[u] Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, p. 254. Liverpool, 1802, 4to.

[x] The chronology is still unsettled. Mr. Ruddiman supposes him to have begun teaching in the College of St. Barbe in the year 1526: but for the office of a professor he was not qualified till 1528, when he was created master of arts; and even under the date of June the third 1529, his name, according to Mr. Chalmers, occurs in the register of the Scot-

tained to the age of majority; and Buchanan might only embrace a favourable opportunity of revisiting his relations and friends. Their connection however did not immediately dissolve. While he was residing at the earl's seat in the country, he composed a little poem which rendered him extremely obnoxious to the ecclesiastics, an order of men whom it is generally hazardous to provoke. In this poem, which bears the title of *Somnium*, and is a happy imitation of Dunbar,[y] he expresses his own abhorrence of a monastic life, and stigmatizes the impudence and hypocrisy of the Franciscan friars. The holy

ish College. Buchanan relates that in the former seminary he taught about three years, and at the expiration of that term, was engaged by Lord Cassilis. In the dedication of his version of Linacre, published in 1533, he remarks that he had been employed in superintending that nobleman's studies during the preceding year. From a comparison of these dates, it is obvious that he was admitted as a regent or professor in 1529, and resigned his office in 1532. The biographical narrative proceeds thus: "Interea cum Gilbertus Cassilissæ comes, adolescens nobilis, in ea vicinia diversaretur, atque ingenio et consuetudine ejus oblectaretur, eum quinquennium secum retinuit, atque in Scotiam una reduxit. Inde cum in Galliam ad pristina studia redire cogitaret, a rege est retentus." Lord Cassilis retained him as his domestic tutor from 1532 till 1537, and having then completed the course of his studies, carried him to Scotland. Buchanan does not aver that their former relation still subsisted. Towards the close of the year 1536, King James found the earl of Cassilis residing in France. (Leslæus *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 421.) He returned to Scotland in the ensuing May, and was most probably accompanied by that young nobleman and his preceptor. This supposition will readily account for Buchanan's subsequent connection with the court.

[y] Compare Buchanan's *Somnium (Frat. Frater.* xxxiv.) with the poem entitled "How Dunbar wes desyred to be ane Frier;" which occurs in Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 25. Edinb. 1770, 12mo.

fathers, when they became acquainted with this specimen of his sarcastic wit, speedily forgot their professions of meekness, and resolved to convince him of his heterodox presumption in disparaging the sacred institutions of the church. It has repeatedly been alleged that Buchanan had himself belonged to a religious order which he has so frequently exposed with the most admirable powers of ridicule ;[z] but this seems to have been a tale fabricated by the impotent malice of his theological enemies. That he had actually assumed the cowl, has never been affirmed by any early writer sufficiently acquainted with his history: it is not however improbable that during the convenient season of his youthful misfortunes, the friars were anxious to allure so promising a novice ; and this suggestion is even countenanced by a passage in one of his poetical productions.[a] It was a circumstance extremely for-

z " *Georgius Buchananus Minorita excucullatus, Bacchicus histrio, et atheus poeta*, inquit Gilbertus Genebrardus Chronologia ad annum M.D.LXXII. De religione enim Catholica pessime est meritus, et ideo contumeliosas voces facile viro religioso dono, cui majoris fuit momenti pietas quam eruditio." (Dempsteri *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum*, p. 108. Bononiæ, 1627, 4to.) *Vir religiosus* must be translated, a man who wore a certain habit; for such impudent defamation exhibits a curious proof of his religion. The same passage is quoted with seeming approbation by Spondanus, *Annalium Baronii Continuatio*, tom. ii, p. 456.

a Ergo cave ne te falso sub nomine mendax
Simplicitas fors transversum seducat, et illuc
Unde referre pedem nequeas, trahat : et puerum olim
Me quoque pene suis gens hæc in retia mendax
Traxerat illecebris, nisi opem mihi forte tulisset
Cœlitus oblata Eubuli sapientia cani.

BUCHANANI Franciscanus, p. 2,

tunate that he never surrendered his understanding to the tyrannical control of any ecclesiastical corporation, but left his bold and vigorous faculties to speculate with the freedom of a philosopher, and with the sincerity of a Christian.

The earl of Cassilis seems to have reflected no discredit on his preceptor. When he afterwards mingled in the political transactions of those turbulent times, he distinguished himself by his sagacity, his firmness, and his integrity: but his country did not long reap the benefit of his services; and Buchanan lived to record his virtues and his premature death.[b] The father had been assassinated in Scotland,[c] and the son was poisoned in France. In the year 1558 he was associated in a splendid embassy to the French court; but after they had concluded their mission, the earl of Cassilis and three of his colleagues, together with several of their retinue, were suddenly arrested by one common destiny.

Buchanan had determined to resume his former occupations in France; but King James, the fifth of that name, retained him in the capacity of preceptor to one of his natural sons. This son was not, as has generally been supposed, the celebrated James Stewart who afterwards obtained the regency, but another who bore the same baptismal name.[d] His mother was Elizabeth Shaw, of the

b Buchanani Hist. p. 268, 283, 306, 310.

c Buchanani Hist. p. 268. Epigram. lib. ii, 9.

d Man's Censure of Ruddiman, p. 349.

family of Sauchie ; and he died in the year 1548. It was perhaps in the year 1537 that Buchanan entered upon his new charge ; for in the course of that year, the king made an arrangement with respect to his four sons.[e] The abbacies of Melrose and Kelso were secured in the name of Buchanan's pupil, who was the eldest.

What lettered society he now enjoyed in his native country, can only be gleaned from his poems. Notwithstanding the complexion of his religious sentiments, he was admitted to the hospitable and elegant table of Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow ; who probably was not aware that his inviting Buchanan to a banquet would contribute more to the perpetuation of his fame, than all the ecclesiastical and civil honours to which he attained. The poet has recorded his gratification in glowing terms.

Præsulis accubui postquam conviva Gavini,
Dîs non invideo nectar et ambrosiam.
Splendida cœna, epulæ lautæ ambitione remota,
Tetrica Cecropio seria tincta sale :
Cœtus erat Musis numero par, nec sibi dispar
Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide.
Ipse alios supra facundo prominet ore,
Qualis Castalii præses Apollo chori.
Sermo erat ætherei de majestate tonantis,
Ut tulerit nostræ conditionis onus :
Ut neque concretam divina potentia labem
Hauserit in fragili corpore tecta hominis ;

[e] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 425.

Nec licet in servi dominus descenderit artus,
Naturam exuerint membra caduca suam.
Quisquis adest dubitat scholane immigrarit in aulam,
An magis in mediam venerit aula scholam.
Juppiter Æthiopum convivia solus habeto,
Dum mihi concedas præsulis ore frui.[f]

In his history, Buchanan commemorates this prelate as a learned and worthy man. He had been preceptor to James the fifth; obtained the archbishopric in 1522;[g] and in 1527 was nominated chancellor.[h]

Sir Adam Otterburn, a poet, a lawyer, and a statesman, also occurs in the list of his friends. He appears to have been a man of considerable influence in the Scotish court: he was a member of the privy council,[i] and king's advocate;[k] and he frequently visited England in a diplomatic capacity. Buchanan has addressed him in one of his epigrams, and another of them is professedly transformed from Otterburn's hexameters.[l] Of his poetical works, however, not a

[f] Buchanani Epigram. lib. i, 43.

[g] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 381.

[h] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 270.

[i] Rymer, tom xiii, p. 736, 739, 744.

[k] Rymer, tom xiv, p. 91, 113, 481.—The name of Otterburn occurs in almost every Scotish commission dated within a considerable period. His earliest appellation is Adam Otterburn of Auldham; but he is afterwards styled Sir Adam Otterburn of Reidhall. Some original letters of Otterburn and of Archbishop Dunbar are preserved among the Cotton MSS. A copy of a letter from Dr. Thomas Magnus to the former, occurs in Calig. B. vii, 121.

[l] Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 15, 16.

single fragment is known to exist; and his name has only glided into the history of Scotish literature, because he was the friend of Buchanan; who was equally capable of bestowing reputation, and of affixing perpetual ridicule.

But he soon experienced the danger of extending his ridicule to the orthodox. The preferment of a profane scoffer at priests must have augmented their spleen; and the Franciscan friars, still smarting from his *Somnium*, found means of representing him to the king as a man of depraved morals, and of dubious faith.[m] But on this occasion their obstreperous zeal recoiled upon themselves. By comparing the humility of their professions with the arrogance of their deportment, James had formerly begun to discover their genuine character; and the part which he supposed them to have acted in a late conspiracy against his own life, had not contributed to diminish his antipathy. Instead of consigning the poet to disgrace or punishment, the king, who was aware that private resentment would improve the edge of his satire,[n] enjoined

[m] "*Et cum non satis justas iræ suæ immodicæ causas invenirent, ad commune religionis crimen, quod omnibus quibus male propitii erant intentabant, decurrunt.*" (Buchanani Vita, p. 3.) See also the dedication of his *Franciscanus*.

[n] "Rex Buchananum, forte tum in aula agentem, ad se advocat, et *ignarus* offensionis quæ ei cum Franciscanis esset, jubet adversus eos carmen scribere." (*Buchanani Vita*, p. 3.) Instead of *ignarus*, read *gnarus* or *non ignarus*. It was King James's knowledge, not his ignorance, of the poet's warfare with the Franciscans, that must have suggested him as already prepared to second his own resentment. Buchanan's biographical sketch was a posthumous publication; but in the dedication of his *Fran-*

him in the presence of many courtiers to renew his well-directed attack on the same pious fathers. Buchanan's late experience had however taught him the importance of caution: he determined at once to gratify the king's resentment against the friars, and to avoid increasing the resentment of the friars against himself. In pursuance of this fine project, he composed a kind of recantation, which he supposed might delude the Franciscans by its ambiguity of phrase.[o] But he found himself doubly deceived: the indignation of the king, who was himself a satirical poet,[p] could not so easily be gratified; and the friars were now impelled to a higher pitch of resentment. James requested him to compose another satire, which should exhibit their vices in a more glaring light. The subject was copious,

*siseanus*, which he himself committed to the press, the story is related with that consistency which a very slight correction will impart to the preceding passage. "Is mihi continuo multis audientibus imperavit, ut in Franciscanos aliquid, idque etiam acriter, scriberem: non quod mihi in eo genere facultatem existimaret esse præcipuam, sed quod me, opinor, stimulis privati doloris incitatum, acriorem injuriæ publicæ fore vindicem speraret."

[o] The poem to which he alludes, is apparently the *Palinodia* at the end of his *Fratres Fraterrimi*, consisting of two parts. It is not however surprizing that the friars declined such a compliment.

[p] Sir David Lindsay's "Answer to the Kingis Flyting" verifies this assertion; but no genuine productions of the royal author are known to be extant. "Christis Kirk of the Grene," appears with sufficient evidence to have been composed by James the first; and "The Gaberlunzieman," as well as "The Jollie Beggar," is imputed to his descendent without any competent authority. These two ballads, which possess uncommon merit, may be found in Mr. Pinkerton's *Select Scotish Ballads*, vol. ii, p. 28, 33.

and well adapted to the poet's talents and views. He accordingly applied himself to the composition of the poem afterwards published under the title of *Franciscanus ;* and to satisfy the king's impatience, soon presented him with a specimen. This production, as it now appears in its finished state, may without hazard be pronounced the most skilful and pungent satire which any nation or language can exhibit. He has not servilely adhered to the model of any ancient poet, but is himself original and unequalled. To a masterly command of classical phraseology, he unites uncommon felicity of versification ; and his diction often rises with his increasing indignation to majesty and splendour. The combinations of his wit are variegated and original ; and he evinces himself a most sagacious observer of human life. No class of men was ever more completely exposed to ridicule and infamy ; nor is it astonishing that the Popish clergy afterwards regarded the author with implacable hatred. The impurities and the absurdities which he rendered so notorious, were not the spontaneous production of a prolific brain ; their ignorance and irreligion presented an ample and inviting harvest. Of the validity of his poetical accusations, many historical documents still remain. Buchanan has himself related in plain prose, that about this period some of the Scotish ecclesiastics were so deplorably ignorant, as to suppose

Martin Luther to be the author of a dangerous book, called the *New* Testament.[q]

But the church being infallible, he speedily recognized the hazard of accosting its retainers by their proper names. At the commencement of the year 1539, many individuals suspected of Lutheranism were involved in the horrible scenes of persecution. Towards the close of February, five were committed to the flames, nine made a formal recantation of their supposed errors, and many were driven into exile. Buchanan had been comprehended in the general arrest; and to the eternal infamy of the nation, his invaluable life might have been sacrificed to the rancour of an unholy priesthood.[r] After he was committed to custody, Cardinal Beaton endeavoured to accelerate his doom by tendering to the king a

[q] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 291. Perizonii Hist. Sæculi Sextidecimi, p. 233. Lugd. Bat. 1710, 8vo.

[r] Dr. James Laing, a most impudent and malignant writer, has recorded a silly story of Buchanan's having been convicted of eating the paschal lamb like a Jew. "A Jacobo quinto...est vocatus, et de quæstione proposita examinatus, atque interrogatus, quomodo ausus fuisset quicquam tale contra consuetudinem ecclesiæ Catholicæ tentare. Homo sacrarum literarum imperitissimus, simulque impudentissimus ita regi respondit; Tu domine similiter debes agnum paschæ comedere, si vis salutem consequi: quo audito responso rex statim obstupuit, et admiratus est audaciam sive potius hominis insaniam." (*De Vita et Moribus atque Rebus Gestis Hæreticorum nostri Temporis*, f. 39. Paris. 1581, 8vo.) This tale has been repeated by various other writers; and among the rest by David Chalmers. (Camerarius *De Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate*, p. 269. Paris. 1631, 4to.) It is too idiotical to demand a serious refutation.

Bale, who supposes Buchanan to have been a fervent preacher of the gospel, had caught some vague rumour with respect to his suffering mar-

sum of money as the price of his innocent blood. Of this circumstance Buchanan was apprized by some of his friends at court; and his knowledge of the king's unfortunate propensity to avarice must have augmented all the horrors of his situation. Stimulated by the thoughts of increasing danger, he made a successful effort to regain his liberty; while his keepers were fast asleep, he escaped through the window of the apartment in which he was confined.[s] Directing his wandering steps towards the southern part of the island, he had soon to encounter new disasters. When he reached the frontier of the two kingdoms, he was molested by the freebooters who at that time were its sole inhabitants; and his life was again exposed to jeopardy from the contagion of a pestilential disease, which then raged

tyrdom: "A Sodomæ tyrannis, mitratis, rasis, et unctis, ob divinæ veritatis assertionem, igne tandem sublatum ferunt." (*Scriptores Britanniæ*, cent. xiv, p. 226. Basil. 1559, fol.) Among the works of Buchanan, he enumerates "Axiomata quædam, lib. i."

[s] "The poet," says Mr. Chalmers, "was imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrews, from which he was delivered by the interposition of Beaton, a nephew of the archbishop of Glasgow." (*Life of Ruddiman*, p. 315.) In support of these assertions, he refers to the collection of Jebb, vol. ii, p. 486; but unfortunately the passage in question relates the captivity, not of Buchanan, but of Queen Mary. "Ils ne cesserent jamais qu' *elle* ne fut mise en prison dans un fort chasteau; on dit que c'est Saint André en Escosse; et ayant demeuré miserablement captive pres d'un an, fut delivrée par le moyen d'un fort honneste et brave gentil-homme du pays, et de bonne maison, nommé Monsieur de Beton, &c. Voilà donc *cette reyne* en liberté." Consult Brantome, *Vies des Dames Illustres de France*, p. 135.

in the north of England. On his arrival in London, he experienced the friendship of Sir John Rainsford, an English knight; who is recorded to have been the only person that maintained him against the fury of the Papists.[t] Of this generous protection, Buchanan was not afterwards unmindful; he has immortalized his benefactor by consecrating a poem to his memory.[u] It was apparently at this unpropitious crisis, that he addressed himself to Thomas Cromwell and to King Henry;[x] from whom he however seems to have obtained no relief. Several of his little poems remain as memorials of his necessities; for his untoward fate frequently compelled him to resort to this humiliating exercise of his exalted genius. No man was however less disposed to the servility of adulation; and when the iniquity of fortune subjected him to the direful expedient of thus soliciting patronage, it must

[t] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 20.

[u] Hunc, Ransforte, tuo cineri Buchananus honorem
Dat meritum, duro cultus in exilio.
Mens generosa atavos non est mentita vetustos:
Pace tua est pietas cognita, Marte manus.
Cultus erat simplex, sine luxu splendida mensa,
Ara domus miseris, arca benigna bonis.
Non libertatem fandi peregrina tyrannis,
Non animum fregit patria serva tuum.
Mens invicta malis fesso de corpore cessit,
Jam pulso exitii servitiique metu.

BUCHANAN. Epigram. lib. ii. 24.

[x] Buchanani Miscell. xiii, xv.

have cost his proud spirit many a bitter pang. During the age of Buchanan, and indeed at a much later period, men of letters were not extremely jealous of their independence:[y] from the peculiar state of society, they were very frequently thrown upon the immediate protection of some great personage; and the prevalent notions relative to prerogative and subordination were such as mankind are now ashamed to recognize. The royal ears of Elizabeth and her successor were regaled with language of the most absurd and execrable denomination:—how meanly did Bacon stoop from the awful sublimity of his genius, to nurse the childish vanity of a monarch, whose elevation had only rendered him contemptible!

The aspect of political affairs in England was not calculated to secure Buchanan's attachment to that nation; he was anxious to escape from a country which he saw exposed to the wanton cruelties of a brutal tyrant. The civilization of France, as well as the particular intimacies which he had formed in that country, led him to adopt the resolution of returning to Paris. But he found on his arrival that Cardinal Beaton was

[y] Nec tamen interea sua pauper carmina vates
Vendere, nec blandus circum strepere ostia cessat
Nobilium, et prohibere suis a faucibus atram
Obscœnamque famem: quid enim, quid speret ab illis
Amplius? O meritis impar sed gratia tantis!

HOSPITALII Epistolæ, p. 134.

residing there in the character of an ambassador.[z] Andrew Govea, a native of Portugal, invited him to Bourdeaux; nor did he hesitate to embrace an opportunity of removing himself beyond the influence of the cardinal's deadly hatred. Of the College of Guienne, lately founded in that city, Govea had been nominated principal; and Bu-

[z] Mr. Pinkerton has proposed some chronological objections to which it will here be necessary to advert. "The date 1539 on the margin is erroneous; and not to mention that it occurs again afterwards, it disagrees with the 'brevi post' in the text, after transactions of 1537: nor does Buchanan mention Mary of Guise, who arrived in June 1538, after he had left Scotland: nor was Cardinal Beton in France in 1539, though Buchanan found him there in 1538, the real year of his escape. Yet, in his unchronological history, he dates the event 1539: if not an error of the press in the vitiated first edition." (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 352.) In this part at least of his history, Buchanan's chronology seems unexceptionable; and it would indeed have been singular enough if he had forgotten the number of a year which to him was so eventful. Nor is there the smallest room for suspecting an error of the press: having mentioned the transactions of 1537, he proceeds to relate an event "proximo qui hunc secutus est anno;" and afterwards introduces the persecution which ensued "initio anni proximi." "Initio anni proximi, qui fuit M.D.XXXIX. Lutheranismi suspecti complures capti sunt: sub finem Februarii, quinque cremati: novem recantarunt: complures exilio damnati. In his fuit Georgius Buchananus, qui, sopitis custodibus, per cubiculi fenestram evaserat." (Buchanani *Rerum Scotic. Hist.* p. 277.) That this persecution occurred in 1539, is almost as certain as any event in Scotish history; and Buchanan may safely be supposed to have known what relation it bore to his own troubles. The purport of Mr Pinkerton's suggestion, "nor does Buchanan mention Mary of Guise," is not sufficiently obvious: Mary of Guise had no particular title to be mentioned in the life of George Buchanan. It is indeed certain that Cardinal Beaton was in France in 1538, but it is not therefore certain that he was not in France in 1539. It is not the province of a historian to record every little embassy of every denomination. The cardinal would gladly embrace any proper opportunity of visiting that country; where he had been dexterous enough to obtain the bishopric of Mirepoix. (Lesæus *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 426.)

chanan, evidently through his interest, was now appointed one of the professors. Here he must have fixed his residence before the close of the year; for to Charles the fifth, who made his solemn entry into Bourdeaux on the first of December 1539,[a] he presented a poem in the name of the college.[b]

The task assigned him at Bourdeaux was that of teaching the Latin language. For an occupation of this kind, he seems to have entertained no particular affection; but although sufficiently laborious, it never impaired the native elevation of his mind. He now prosecuted his poetical studies with a degree of ardour which may excite admiration; during the three years of his residence at Bourdeaux, he completed four tragedies, together with various other poems on miscellaneous subjects. It was then, and indeed at a much later period, the common practice of academical students to exercise themselves in the representation of Latin dramas. In dramatic poetry, the taste of the French nation was still rude and grotesque; for they had not begun to extricate themselves from the absurdities of the early mysteries and allegories. With the view of familiarizing the collegians to the more correct and elegant models of the ancient theatre,

[a] De Lurbe, Chronique Bourdeloise, f. 42, b.

[b] Buchanani Silvæ, i. *Ad Carolum V. Imperatorem, Burdegalæ hospitio publico susceptum, nomine Scholæ Burdegalensis, anno* M.D.XXXIX.

Buchanan with his usual intrepidity made a sudden incursion into this province of literature. The earliest of his dramatic compositions bears the title of *Baptistes*. He had at a former period applied himself to the study of the Greek language without the aid of a tutor, and as an useful exercise had then executed a close translation of the *Medea* of Euripides. He now delivered a poetical version to the academical stage, and afterwards, at the earnest request of his friends, suffered it to be printed.[c] Those two tragedies

[c] " Medeam," says Buchanan, " non in hoc scripseram, ut ederetur, sed cum Græcis literis absque magistro darem operam, ut verba singula inter scribendum diligentius expenderem : amicis importune flagitantibus edidi, cum Latinas literas Burdegalæ docerem, ac fabulam singulis annis pueris dare cogerer. In ea cum multa negligentius elapsa essent, post aliquot annos retractavi eam, et quædam in ea vulnera ita sanavi, ut adhuc cicatrices alicubi appareant. Tres reliquas majore cum labore ibidem effudi." (*Epistolæ*, p. 25.) By comparing this with a passage in his life, it appears that he has here expressed himself with somewhat of the negligence of familiar correspondence. " Ibi in scholis, quæ tum sumptu publico erigebantur, triennium docuit : quo tempore scripsit quatuor tragœdias, quæ postea per occasiones fuerunt evulgatæ. Sed quæ prima omnium fuerat conscripta (cui nomen est Baptista) ultima fuit edita, ac *deinde* Medea Euripidis." (*Buchanani Vita*, p. 4.) Buchanan must have executed first a literal, and afterwards a poetical translation of the *Medea:* he mentions the *Baptistes* as the earliest of his dramatic poems, which were all composed at Bourdeaux; but he had formerly translated the other tragedy as a private exercise. *Deinde* must refer to the order of composition, not of publication. The dates of the first editions cannot easily be ascertained. His *Medea* is inscribed " Ad Illustrissimum Principem Joannem a Lucemburgo, Iveriaci Abbatem." It must have been published previous to the year 1547 ; for Jean de Luxembourg, who was considered as a man of talents and eloquence, was then promoted to the bishopric of Pamiers. (Du Verdier, *Bibliotheque Françoise, par Juvigny*, tom. ii, p. 454.) Buchanan merely addresses him as abbot of Ivry. The earliest

were performed with a degree of applause which almost exceeded his hopes. He afterwards composed his *Jephthes*, and translated the *Alcestis*, another drama of his favourite author. These last productions, as he originally intended them for publication, were elaborated with superior diligence.

The tragedy of *Jephthes* is conformable to the models of the Grecian theatre, and is not destitute of interest. The subject is highly dramatic; it is a subject which Buchanan's great exemplar Euripides might have been inclined to select. The situation of a father who had unwarily subjected himself to the dreadful necessity of sacrificing a beloved and only child,[d] the repugnant

edition of *Jephthes* which has been traced is that of Paris, 1554, 4to, *Apud Guil. Morelium.* His version of the *Alcestis* was printed there in the same form in 1557, *Apud Mich. Vascosanum.* The two translated dramas occur in a collection entitled "Tragœdiæ Selectæ Æschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis." *Excudebat H. Stephanus*, 1567, 8vo. The *Baptistes* was published by H. Charters in 1578, 8vo; and in the course of the same year was reprinted at Frankfort in the same form by Andrew Wechel. There is a collective edition of Buchanan's "Tragœdiæ Sacræ et Exteræ," *Apud Petrum Sanctandreanum*, 1597, 8vo. Mr. Ruddiman edited the versions from Euripides with the original text. Edinb. 1722, 8vo. Of Buchanan's tragedies there are many other editions, which it would be superfluous to enumerate.

d "Jephtha's daughter," says Dr. Jortin, "was devoted to God, and to the service of the high priest, and of the tabernacle. It is strange that any commentator should have imagined that she was sacrificed." (Jortin's *Tracts*, vol. i, p. 380.) The commentators who adopt that opinion are justified by the respectable authority of Josephus. Selden could discover no vestige of any paternal power of thus devoting children who did not belong to the tribe of Levi. It is not pretended that Jeph-

and excruciating sensations of the mother, the daughter's mingled sentiments of heroism and timidity, are delineated with considerable felicity of dramatic conception. The tender or pathetic was not however the special province of Buchanan; whose talents were bold, masculine, and commanding. It has been urged by Heinsius and by Vossius, that in this tragedy the ancient rule respecting unity of time is grossly violated; because the daughter of Jephtha is known to have bewailed her virginity for the space of two months.[c] But in Buchanan's drama there is no allusion to that circumstance; and if he has exposed himself to critical reprehension, it is only because he has neglected such scrupulous advertency to the national rites of his personages.

The *Baptistes*, although inferior to the other tragedy in dramatic interest, is more strongly impregnated with the author's characteristic sentiments. Its great theme is civil and religious liberty. The poet frequently expresses himself with astonishing boldness: his language relative to tyranny and priestcraft is so strong and undisguised, that it could not then have been toler-

tha sacrificed his daughter "ex jure aliquo," but merely to fulfil a vow which it would have been piety to violate. On the subject of this vow, a chapter occurs in Selden *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum*, p. 530. Lond. 1640, fol.

[c] Heinsius de Tragœdiæ Constitutione, p. 204. Vossii Institutiones Poeticæ, p. 13.

ated in many colleges; and the acquiescence of Buchanan's learned auditory suggests no unfavourable opinion of the flourishing seminary to which he belonged. Some of his expressions bear a very easy application to the late conduct of Cardinal Beaton.

Vulgo ita modo vivitur,
Nostrique cœtus vitium id est vel maximum,
Qui sanctitatis plebem imagine fallimus;
Præcepta tuto liceat ut spernere Dei;
Contra instituta nostra si quid audeas,
Conamur auro evertere adversarios,
Tollere veneno, subditisque testibus
Opprimere: falsis regias rumoribus
Implemus aures: quicquid animum offenderit,
Rumore falso ulciscimur, et incendimus
Animum furore turbidum, et calumniis
Armamus iræ sævientis impetum.[f]

In the tragedies of the ancient Greek poets, what is termed the prologue is always an essential part of the drama; but the prologue of the *Baptistes* resembles those of Terence. Buchanan seems to have adopted this method, because it afforded him an opportunity of preparing his auditors for the bold sentiments which they were about to hear.

The same subject was afterwards selected by several other poets. A drama with the title of *Baptistes* occurs among the works of Schonæus;

[f] "Buchanani Baptistes, p. 23.

and another, written by Nicholas Grimoald, and entitled *Archipropheta, sive Johannes Baptista*, was published at London in the year 1591.[g] Milton had directed his attention to no fewer than a hundred different subjects for tragedy, and among others, to that of John the Baptist. Of this projected drama he has sketched a faint outline;[h] which it may be no uninteresting task to compare with the plan of Buchanan.

Grotius has remarked that Buchanan, so admirable in other respects, has not sufficiently maintained the gravity of the ancient buskin;[i] and it is indeed obvious that his tragedies are not the most perfect of his compositions. The disapprobation of Heinsius, who like Grotius was also a dramatic poet, is however expressed too forcibly: the tragedies of Buchanan he mentions not merely without applause, but even with some degree of contempt.[k] Some of his objections are

g Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii, p. 60.

h Milton's Poetical Works, by Todd, vol. iv, p. 504.

i Grotius to Thuanus: "Tibi hæc mittuntur, Præses Illustrissime, qui post Scotiæ illud numen redivivam nobis reduxisti tragœdiam: nisi quod et Buchananus ipse, in aliis vir maximus, a cothurni gravitate degenerare videtur." GROTII Epistolæ, p. 1. Amst. 1687, fol.

k "Duos certe excellentes hac ætate viros, M. Antonium Muretum, Latinæ puritatis nostro ævo principem, Georgium item Buchananum, poetam eximium, quorum ingeniis nihil impervium fuisse dicas, nemo hodie non novit: qui cum se huic scenæ crediderunt, alterum in cothurno, alterum in socco pedem habuisse dicas; adeo nec legem se tenere putant, neque mentem ad antiquitatis regulam deflectunt. Illius Cæsare equidem, hujus autem Jephte humilius vix quicquam dici potest; cum vix unquam assurgant." HEINSIUS de Tragœdiæ Constitutione, p. 200.

manifestly frivolous; and he might almost be suspected of an oblique intention to establish his own superiority. Buchanan, who was distinguished for the elevation of his genius, was certainly capable of imparting to his tragic heroes sufficient pomp of diction; but he was too competent a judge of propriety to invest every scene with the same heroic swell. The diction of Euripides, whom he apparently selected as his model, is very remote from the standard which some modern critics have attempted to introduce. The original tragedies of the Scotish poet are not however free from considerable blemishes. Although his subjects are scriptural, he frequently alludes to classical mythology, and to physical objects with which the Hebrews were totally unacquainted. To some of the characters in *Jephthes* he assigns Greek names; and the chorus in very familiar terms mention the wealth of Crœsus, who was not born till about six hundred years after Jephtha. These are glaring examples of impropriety; but similar errors have been committed by poets who are sometimes regarded as infallible. The Persians of Æschylus speak of Jupiter and Hermes; and in the *Electra* of Sophocles, the characters are very familiar with the Pythian games. Nor is it unworthy of remark that Heinsius, who claimed the honour of being the first critic that comprehended the system of

Aristotle,[l] and who censured his predecessors with such freedom, has himself exhibited many gross violations of propriety; has in the same tragedy blended angels with the Furies, Michaël with Alecto, Tesiphone with Gabriël, and Megæra with Raphaël.[m]

Of his dramatic performances Buchanan entertained a very modest opinion; but if we recollect the circumstances under which they originated, they cannot fail of impressing a lasting sentiment of admiration. Their composition was a task which his academical station imposed: he completed the four tragedies in the compass of three years, while engaged in the laborious occupation of teaching grammar to young students,

[l] Heinsii Responsio ad Balsacium, p. 4. 25.—" L'art de la poësie," says De Croi, " qu' Aristote et qu' Homere nous avoyent laissé, avoit esté ignoré jusqu' à luy." *(Response au Discours de Balsac*, p. 10.)

[m] Salmasii Epistola ad Menagium, p. 77. 4to.—Balzac had published a " Dissertation sur une Tragedie intitulée *Herodes Infanticida*," in which the merits of that composition of Heinsius were very fairly discussed. The poet was however of a different opinion; as he soon afterwards testified by his "Epistola, qua Dissertationi Balsacii ad *Heroden Infanticidam*, respondetur." Lugd. Bat. 1636, 8vo. Jean de Croi, who afterwards assailed him in another quarter, was eager on this occasion to vindicate his fame: his work bears the title of " Response à la Lettre, et au Discours de Balsac, sur une Tragedie de Heins, intitulée *Herodes Infanticida*." Geneve? 1642, 8vo. The controversy was terminated by the formidable interference of Salmasius; who had recently been engaged in another contest with Heinsius, respecting what is termed the Hellenistic language. His tract is entitled " Ad Ægidium Menagium Epistola, super *Herode Infanticida* viri celeberrimi Tragœdia, et Censura Balsacii." Paris. 1644, 8vo. It is reprinted in the collection of his *Epistolæ*. Lugd. Bat. 1656, 4to. Balzac's dissertation occurs in his *Oeuvres Diverses*, p. 110.

and while he even regarded his life as insecure from the deadly malice of Cardinal Beaton and the grey friars. Whatever may be the defects of those productions, they are at least superior to any of the Latin dramas which had been composed by modern poets. This province had been sufficiently cultivated by the scholars of Italy[n] and Germany; but with a degree of success which leaves them very far behind the author of *Jephthes*. Most of their performances, when compared with those of Buchanan, will appear extremely unclassical and grotesque. At the period when he was thus reforming the classical theatre in France, the productions of Betuleius and Macropedius were received with applause in Germany.

His translations from Euripides must have contributed, as well as his original compositions, to revive the genius of the ancient drama. These versions are executed with no inconsiderable felicity. The diction of *Alcestis* surpasses that of *Medea*; yet to his learned cotemporaries the last appeared so highly classical, that strong suspicions were entertained of his having published in his own name a genuine relique of antiquity.[o]

[n] See Mr. Walker's Historical and Critical Essay on the Revival of the Drama in Italy. Edinb. 1805, 8vo.

[o] "Eodem certe modo," says H. Stephanus, "furti insimulatum fuisse Georgium Buchananum audivi, quum ejus Medea (id est Euripidis Medea ab eo Latine versa) in lucem prodiit. In aliqua enim bibliotheca latentem hanc Latinam Medeam surripuisse, ac suam tandem fecisse,

The same tragedy had been translated by Ennius, whose version is not preserved.[p] At a later period two tragedies of Euripides were translated by Erasmus;[q] and his attempt is mentioned with becoming respect by his accomplished successor. It was probably the example of Buchanan that prompted other excellent scholars to similar enterprizes: translations from the Greek dramatists were afterwards executed by Jos. Scaliger, Chrestien, and Grotius.[r]

Sed quum talis sit hæc versio ut vel dignissima antiquitate (ad multos præsertim locos quod attinet) dici queat, habent quo suam accusationem excusent." *(De bene Instituendis Græcæ Linguæ Studiis*, p. 116.)

[p] Ennii Fragmenta, p. 307, edit. Columnæ. Neapoli, 1590, 4to.

[q] Erasmi Opera, tom. i, col. 1131, edit. Clerici.

[r] Dr. Bentley remarks that Buchanan, Scaliger, Grotius, and other modern poets, have not sufficiently adverted to the prosody of the Greek dramatists. "All the moderns before had supposed, that the last syllable of every verse was common, as well in anapæsts, as they are known to be in hexameters and others: so that in poems of their own composing, the last foot of their anapæsts was very frequently a tribrachys, or a trochee, or a cretic; or the foot ended in a vowel or an *m*, while the next verse begun with a vowel or an *h*. In every one of which cases an error was committed: because there was no licence allowed by the ancients to the last syllable of anapæsts; but the anapæst feet run on to the paroemiac, that is, to the end of the sett, as if the whole had been a single verse. This, I said, was a general rule among the Greek poets; and even Seneca, the Latin tragedian (to shew he was conscious of this rule, that I have now discover'd) never ends an anapæstic verse with a cretic, as Buchanan, Scaliger, Grotius, &c. usually do; though sometimes indeed he does it with a trochee, but even that very seldom, and generally at the close of a sentence. Even envy itself will be forced to allow that this discovery of mine, if it be true, is no inconsiderable one." *(Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. 132.) This discovery, though perhaps of less consequence to the world than the author imagined, ought not to be entirely overlooked. Consult likewise the same writer's *Epistola ad Millium*, p. 26, and Ruddi-

Buchanan's original tragedies have been translated into several languages.[s] One of Milton's biographers has ascribed to that immortal poet an English version of the *Baptistes:* but his opinion is not authorized by the slightest vestige of evidence, either historical or internal; and his persevering observations on the subject exhibit a very curious and entertaining specimen of antiquarian argumentation.[t]

man *De Metris Buchananæis*, p. 8. Dr. Bentley, as Mr. Ruddiman remarks, has committed a metrical blunder while in the very act of chastising Mr. Boyle for his ignorance.

[s] For the subsequent notices relative to the Italian and French translations, I am almost entirely indebted to the distinguished politeness of Mr. Cooper Walker, whose acquaintance with the history of the drama is confessedly unrivalled. It is with no trivial satisfaction that I here commemorate so respectable a name among the warmest encouragers of my present undertaking.

" L'Iefte, Tragedia di Giorgio Bucanano, recata di Latino in volgare da Scipione Bargagli." In Venezia per Matteo Valentini, 1600, 18vo.

" Jephté, ou le Vœu, Tragedie traduite du Latin de Bucanan par Florent Chrestien." Printed with " Le Premier Chapitre des Lamentations de Jerémie en vers." Orleans, Loys Rabier, 1567, 4to. Paris, Robert Estienne, 1573, 8vo. Mamert Patisson, 1587, 12mo. With the " Fragmens de Loüis de Masures." M. Patisson, 1595, 12mo. A specimen of this version may be found in the late excellent edition of Du Verdier's *Bibliotheque Françoise*, tom i, p. 585. The same tragedy was translated into French by François Perrin, and by Nicolas le Digne, Sieur de Condes; but neither of their versions is known to have been printed.—In one of his valuable publications, Mr. Walker informs us that on the same subject with this drama of Buchanan, a French opera and an Italian tragedy were composed during the last century. *(Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, p. 264, 338. Lond. 1799, 4to.)

" Baptiste, ou la Calomnie, Tragedie traduite du Latin de Bucanan, par M Brinon." Jean Osmont, 1613, 12mo. " I believe," says Mr. Walker, " Brinon translated also *Jephthes*."

[t] Peck's New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John

In the learned dramas represented in the College of Guienne, the well-known Michel de Montagne was a frequent performer. About the period when Buchanan was appointed a professor, he there commenced his academical studies at the early age of six years. Before his return home, which took place in his thirteenth year,

Milton. Lond. 1740, 4to.—The translation originally appeared with this title: "Tyrannical Government Anatomized: or, a discourse concerning evil counsellors; being the Life and Death of John the Baptist." 1642. Mr. Peck not being at first aware that this is only a version of the *Baptistes*, had employed a very curious series of arguments to prove that as it could not possibly be composed by any body else, it must consequently have been composed by *Mr.* Milton; and he had moreover compiled many historical annotations to illustrate *Mr.* Milton's evident allusions to cotemporary transactions. Though he at length discovered his error in supposing it to be an original work, he was sorry to lose his arguments and his annotations: he therefore published this version as Milton's, and retained all that he had formerly written, interspersed indeed with some qualifying phrases which only serve to heighten the ridicule. The preface to his new edition opens in the following manner. "His Baptistes is the sixth of Mr. John Milton's nine *most celebrated* English poems; and one of the *hitherto unknown* pieces of his whereof I am now to give an account." (*Memoirs of Milton*, p. 267. Another specimen may not be unacceptable. "This leads to the question, And how will you now prove Milton to have been the translator? To this I answer, many of the conjectures which I have above offered to prove him the author, will, I apprehend, yet stand good to prove him the translator For the peculiar way of spelling; the whole manner and turn of the stile; the choice of the persons reflected upon; the invectives against the clergy; the great spirit of liberty which runs throughout the work; and above all, the design and timing of the translation, do all, I imagine, prove him to have been the translator; especially if we add to all these this one other argument, and I think it is a strong one, viz. that there was no one else, I think, but he then living (at least of that party) who could have done it in such a masterly way as here we see it." (P. 281). The following specimen of the translation is one of the most favourable that are to be

he personated the principal characters in the Latin tragedies of Buchanan, Muretus, and Garentæus. Those learned men, together with Gruchius, he has commemorated as his domestic preceptors.[u]

Montagne relates that when he afterwards saw Buchanan in the train of Marshal de Brissac,

found; but it certainly comprehends nothing unattainable by talents very inferior to those of Milton.

> Te quicquid aer continet laxo sinu;
> Quæcunque tellus, &c.
>
> Whatere the ayre in its loose bosome bears;
> Whatere the earth can procreate, or sea
> Within its waters nourish; thee their God
> All do acknowledge, and by thee alone
> Finde their creation. In a constant way,
> Thy laws once given, freely they obey.
> At thy command the spring with flowers paints
> The fertile fields, and fruits the summer yields;
> Autumne pure wine abundantly affords,
> And winter with white frost the hills attires;
> The crooked rivers rolle into the sea
> Huge heaps of waters; the sea ebbs and flows;
> The silver moon illuminates the night,
> The golden sun the day; and views this orb
> With never-resting brightnesse.

[u] Essais de Montagne, liv. i, chap. xxv.—Sir Robert Sibbald supposes Buchanan to have resided in the country as Montagne's tutor. (*Comment. in Vitam Buchanani*, p. 13.) Montagne has also mentioned Muretus, Gruchius, and Garentæus, as his domestic preceptors. Like Buchanan, they were professors in the College of Guienne, where he was domesticated for several years; but that any of the four was entertained in his father's house, is a conjecture manifestly devoid of foundation. Mr. Ruddiman, who likewise adopts this conjecture, places Buchanan's supposed rustication with Montagne between 1542 and 1544. But it is evident from the essay to which I have referred, that Montagne did not leave the College of Guienne before the year 1546.

that illustrious poet alluded to his having formed a project of composing a work on education, in which he intended to exhibit the discipline of his old pupil as a proper exemplar. This project he seems never to have executed. It was perhaps his intention to write a philosophical poem on the subject; but he might relinquish the design in consequence of having commenced another didactic work soon after the period to which Montagne refers.

Buchanan's attention to the interests of elegant and useful learning was unremitting. In a Sapphic ode addressed to the youth of Bourdeaux, he reminds them of the dignity and importance of the liberal arts, and particularly of that art which he had himself cultivated with such eminent success.[x] The exertions of such a preceptor could not fail of improving the taste of his pupils; but the splendour of his poetry seems to have conferred upon the college a substantial benefit of another kind. This seminary was more remarkable for the learning of its members, than for the amplitude of its endowments. The penury of their provision was so sensibly felt that Buchanan, probably at the suggestion of his colleagues, addressed a poetical representation to Francis Olivier, chancellor of the kingdom.[y] On this occasion the powerful influence of the ancient

[x] Buchanani Miscell. ix.

[y] Buchanani Elegia v.

lyre was revived: Buchanan afterwards inscribed to the chancellor an elegant ode, in which he commemorates his liberality and promptitude in ameliorating their condition.[z] Olivier seems to have been warmly attached to the interests of polite literature, and of its professors. He is highly celebrated in the poems of De l'Hospital, the most distinguished of his successors in the chancellorship. Turnebus addressed to him a similar petition in behalf of the royal professors at Paris.[a]

The social intercourse which Buchanan enjoyed at Bourdeaux may be supposed to have been neither inelegant nor uninteresting. That city had long evinced its respect for learning. In ancient times it could boast of a flourishing academy,[b] and of the poetical talents of its citizen Ausonius, by whom the merits of several cotemporary professors have been commemorated. The foundation of the college to which Buchanan belonged was completed in the year 1534, when his friend Govea was invited from Paris to officiate as principal.[c] In 1573, the College of the

[z] Buchanani Miscell. iv.

[a] Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum, tom. iii, p. 1045.

[b] Bulæi Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. i, p. 46.

[c] Gabriel de Lurbe, Chronique Bourdeloise, f. 42. Bourdeaux, 1594, 4to.—This work, originally written in Latin, was translated by the author; who was an advocate of Bourdeaux. The French edition is more copious.—A work entitled *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus, et de Bourg*, was published by Vinetus. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, was printed at Bourdeaux in quarto in the year 1574.

Jesuits was instituted by the liberality of M. de Baulon, a counsellor in the provincial parliament;[d] and it was not perhaps till that period that the schools of Bourdeaux received the privileges of a university.[e] In the year 1555 however the College of Guienne maintained fifteen professors or public teachers.[f] The accomplishments of Buchanan and of the able scholars with whom he was associated had established its reputation; and it was once regarded as the best seminary in France for the first institution of youth.[g] Several of his associates were men of eminent talents and erudition: among them he had formed intimacies which he recollected with pleasure during the last years of his life; and in his poetical works he commemorates his regard for some of the distinguished lawyers who then resided at Bourdeaux. He has written in very favourable terms the epitaphs of François de Belcier,[h] first president of the parliament, Briand de Vallée, one of the king's counsellors in the

d De Lurbe, Chronique Bourdeloise, f. 48.

e Miræus mentions Bourdeaux as the seat of a university. (*Notitiæ Episcopatuum Orbis Christiani*, p. 275, edit. Antverp. 1613, 8vo.)

f Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 618.

g Du Chesne, Antiquitez et Recherches des Villes, Chasteaux, et Places plus remarquables de toute la France, p. 751.

h The poems of a Franciscus Bellicarius occur in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*, tom. i, p. 489. The name of the first president Buchanan has Latinized Belcierius: but that of Olivier he renders, by a different analogy, Olivarius. One of the little poems of Bellicarius is addressed to Anthony Govea, who is known to have resided at Bourdeaux.

same court, and of Innocentius Fontanus, a lawyer and a poet.[i] To De Vallée, whom he has extolled as one of the most worthy as well as most learned men whom the sun had beheld,[k] he addressed an elegy written with too much freedom.

Buchanan's social intercourse was not confined to the college and to the city; it was at this period that he occasionally enjoyed the society of a very extraordinary personage who resided at a considerable distance. At Agen the elder Scaliger was now exercising the profession of a physician. That city, when he there fixed his residence, could not furnish him with a single individual capable of supporting literary conversation; and he was therefore led to cultivate an intimacy with some of the more enlightened inhabitants of Bourdeaux. Buchanan, Tevius, and other accomplished scholars who then belonged to the College of Guienne, were accustomed to pay him an annual visit during the vacation. They were hospitably entertained in his house; and he declared that he forgot the torture of his gout whenever he had an opportunity of discussing

i Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 17, 5, 19. *Innocentio Fontano Burdegalensi Poetæ et Caussidico.*

k Briand de Vallée is thus mentioned in an epistle by one Pierre de Vallée, appended to Franciscus Bonadus's Latin version of the psalms, Paris. 1531, 8vo: "Imprimis scripturienti mihi occurrit Briandus ille Valla, Burdegalensis senatus consul ut vigilantissimus, ita utriusque literaturæ ornatissimus." This friend of Buchanan endowed a lecture of theology in the College of Guienne. (De Lurbe, f. 42).

topics of learning with such guests.[1] For the society of this singular man, who possessed some bad and many good qualities, Buchanan has expressed a mutual relish.

Dum nunc nivalis Aquilo constringit gelu
Lapsus rapaces fluminum,
Nunc densus Auster vallium declivia
Nimiis inundat imbribus,
Pedesque glacie vel vacillant lubrica,
Vel in profundo hærent luto,
Cunctos levabat spes labores unica
Doctum videndi Julium.
Hac spe ferebat pes viæ molestias
Omnes libenter, et oculis
Jam tum imputabat gaudium: lætus animus,
Bonis futuris ebrius,
Prægestiebat, jam velut voti sui
Fructu beato perfruens.
Sed lux Agini quinta nunc agitur mihi,
Fastidiosa dum mora
Cumulat viarum incommoda, et mens anxia
Spes pendet inter et metus.

1 "In Gymnasio autem Aquitanico Burdegalensi tunc erat Buchananus, Muretus, Tevius, alii: at qui viri? Ii quotannis feriis vindemialibus Aginnum Julii Cæsaris visendi commeabant, quos et tecto et mensa excipiebat. Negabat enim sibi rem cum podagra esse, quoties tales convivas haberet, quibuscum de literis loqui posset." (Jos. Scaliger *De Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ*, p. 51.) In a later publication Scaliger denies that Muretus ever came to Agen after his settlement at Bourdeaux: "Quum Burdegalam, relicta schola Villanova, profectus, ibi in una classium Gymnasii Aquitanici doceret, circiter annum Christi MDXLVII. neque ex eo unquam aut Aginnum repetivit, aut Julium postea vidit." (*Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*, p. 453.) These two passages are evidently irreconcilable.

Quamvis laboris omnia ingratissimi
Sint plena, res mihi unica
Magis molesta est cæteris molestiis,
Non intueri Julium.[m]

Buchanan, like other poets, seems to have been a pedestrian. These verses, written while his anxious mind was suspended between hope and fear, may with some probability be referred to the crisis of his relinquishing Bourdeaux for new adventures. To this elegant compliment the subsequent verses of Scaliger may perhaps be supposed to bear an allusion.

Felix Georgi, lacteæ venæ pater,
Quæ ditat immensum mare;
Quid barbarorum voce squallentem absona,
Merisque nugis obsitum,
Inepturientem non ferendis artibus,
Audire memet postulas?
Plectrumne Phœbo temperante Marsyas
Tentabit ictum pollicis?
Amabiles Thalia si faciat modos,
Garrire pica gestiet?
Te, natum ad alta Pegasi cacumina,
Tepente susceptum sinu
Regina sacri magna Calliope soni
Liquore non noto imbuit;
Deditque palmam ferre de tot gentibus,
Latina quot colit cohors.
Puris beata voce tessellis nitor
Perstringit aures candidas;

[m] Buchanani Epigram. lib. i, 49.

Flexuque ducta vena dulcis aureo,
Quam sustulit, iterat sitim.
O me superbum, mole sublatum nova,
Te litteratorum Deo!
Desideratum abesse me, ut scribis, doles,
Quod aliquid esse me putes.
Tu te ipse contemplator, in quo cuncta sunt,
Et vota lenies tua.[n]

Scaliger has composed another little poem in celebration of his illustrious friend: neither of the two is remarkable for felicity of expression; but they both serve as testimonials of the favourable opinion entertained of Buchanan by a critic who despised most of his literary cotemporaries.

Heri legebam nuper allatum mihi
Sapidum, tenellum, molle carmen, aureum,
Intelligendum vel puellis omnibus,
Si splendor, atque puritas, decus, nitor,
Animum subire luculentum ullum queat:
Intelligendum non facile doctis viris,
Nisi mentis excitetur ardor efficax,
Sententiarum propter ardorem merum.
De me ut loquaris, ut ego de me ipso loquar,
Intelligebam primulum ut simplex puer:
At ubi vir esse, ubi esse volui intelligens,
Vocis serena luce perculsus tuæ,
De intelligenti intelligens nihil fui.
Hoc te volebam sic monere, ne petas
Me velle respondere: non enim audeo:
Hocque esse respondere, non respondeo.[o]

[n] Jul. Scaligeri Poemata, tom. i, p. 166.
[o] Jul. Scaligeri Poemata, tom. i, p. 321.

Julius Cæsar Scaliger, according to the narrative of his son Joseph, was born on Friday the twenty-third of April 1484, in the castle of Ripa, situated at the head of the Lago di Garda. He was the second son of Benedetto della Scala, descended of the royal house of Verona; which was despoiled of its principality by the republic of Venice. As Benedetto had commanded the armies of Matthias king of Hungary, and likewise enjoyed the favour of the emperor Frederick, the Venetians regarded him as a dangerous remnant of his illustrious family. Two days after his wife had been delivered of this child, they made an attempt to seize the mother and her two sons; but notwithstanding her critical situation, she escaped from the castle, and fled to her father the count of Lodronio.—Such is the genealogy which Joseph Scaliger has claimed in his unfortunate epistle to Janus Dousa;[p] and his father in most of his works is continually alluding to the same splendour of ancestry. But the validity of their pretensions is extremely dubious. The Italian scholars, as one of them has remarked,[q] and as evidently appears from various documents, were generally disposed to consider their royalty

[p] Jos. Scaliger de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ. Lugd. Bat. 1594, 4to.—This epistle, or rather treatise, occupies the first fifty-seven pages of the collection of the author's *Epistolæ*. Lugd. Bat. 1627, 8vo.

[q] Imperialis Museum Historicum, p. 64. Venet. 1640, 4to.

as purely fictitious. Scioppius, who attacked the dead father and the living son in a most atrocious manner, advanced many arguments in proof of their mean extraction.[r] The character of this author renders every thing connected with his private veracity sufficiently equivocal: but on the other hand, many circumstances contribute

[r] Scioppii Scaliger Hypobolimæus. Moguntiæ, 1607, 4to.—In the course of the following year Scioppius was exposed, in a volume entitled "Satiræ duæ, Hercules tuam Fidem sive Munsterus Hypobolimæus, et Virgula Divina." The author of the two satires, as Scaliger has often remarked in his epistles, was Daniel Heinsius, who was then in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He was born at Ghent in 1581. Placcius has improperly ascribed the "Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum" to Janus Rutgersius. (*Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum*, tom. i, p. 37. Hamb. 1708, 2 tom. fol.) The title indeed bears "J. R. Batavus, Juris Studiosus;" but Scaliger has repeatedly mentioned it as his own production. On the eleventh of June 1608 he thus wrote to Janus Gruterus: "Occupatissimus hos dies fui in scripto quod adversus Burdonistas adorno. Nomen non apponam, neque meum qui scripsi, neque ejus quem anonymum hujus auctorem facio." (Scaligeri *Epistolæ*, p. 793.) He was willing that it should be considered as the composition of Rutgersius, a young scholar of the highest promise. Placcius is also mistaken in referring the publication of this work to the year 1609: it was subjoined to the second edition of the two satires of Heinsius. "Accipe nunc," said Scaliger to Casaubon on the twenty-eighth of August 1608, "satyram Heinsii, triente auctiorem. ut et fabulæ Burdonianæ confutationem." (*Epistolæ*, p. 353.) To some editions is likewise appended a tract entitled "Vita et Parentes Gasp. Schoppii, a Germano quodam contubernali ejus conscripta." This German was perhaps Eilhardus Lubinus; who appears to have written some tract in disparagement of Scioppius. (*Ibid.* p. 725.) Scioppius afterwards published a work which he pretended had long been suppressed by the artifices of the Calvinists. It bears the title of "Oporini Grubini Amphotides Scioppianæ; hoc est Responsio ad Satyram Menippæam Josephi Burdonis Pseudo-Scaligeri pro Vita et Moribus Gasp. Scioppii." *Paris.* 1611, 8vo. It seems to have been printed in Germany.

to undermine the credit of the younger Scaliger's hyperbolical and romantic narrations; nor can the answer which he returned to Scioppius be deemed satisfactory with respect to any of the material points of debate. It is not true that his father was born in the castle of Ripa; he was born in the city of Verona.[s] If he was actually knighted by the emperor, it is certainly an extraordinary circumstance that he should never have assumed so honourable a distinction. It is apparently false that his original appellation was either Julius Cæsar Scaliger of Burden, or count of Burden.[t] To accuse these very learned men of downright falsehood, may perhaps appear ex-

[s] Bayle, in his short account of Verona, has published the letters of naturalization which Scaliger obtained from Francis the first; and he is there denominated "natif de *la ville de Veronne* en Itallie." In those letters, his name and addition were unquestionably recited from his own memorial or petition.

[t] Gyraldus, the cotemporary and friend of Scaliger, denominates him "Jul. Scaliger, qui prius *Burdonis* cognomine fuit, Veronensis, apprime eruditus." (*De Poetis suorum Temporum*, dial. ii, p. 415.) In the letters of naturalization he is termed "Julius Cæsar de l'Escalle de Bordoms, Docteur en Medecine." M. de la Monnoye conjectures with great probability that instead of *Bordoms* we ought to read *Bordonis*, and that the omission of a point over the letter *i* in the manuscript occasioned the mistake. (*Menagiana*, tom. iii, p. 452.) Those letters contain no hint of his being descended of royal ancestors, born in the castle of Ripa, and adorned with the honour of knighthood. If Scaliger's high pretensions had been well-founded, he would not have failed to state them in his memorial; and if they had been thus stated, the titles of so honourable a subject must certainly have been recited in the instrument which constituted him a citizen of France. The date of this curious document is 1528. Bayle published it from a copy communicated by Baluzius.

tremely harsh and indecent; but it is not easy to admit many of their assertions relative to this subject, which seems to have interested them above all others. With all their splendid endowments, they were subject to errors which might serve to reconcile the more obscure part of mankind to their obscurity. The paltry distinction of being regarded as the spawn of a house which had once been royal, presented charms sufficient to decoy them from that manly integrity which is a higher ornament than royalty can bestow. And yet, such is the motley texture of the human mind, those very men were adorned by many virtues; and were moreover distinguished by a larger portion of genius and erudition than ever fell to the share of another father and his son.

The father's original profession was that of arms; and he is represented as having performed prodigious feats of strength and valour. After having fought under the banners of the emperor, he retired to Ferrara, where he experienced the liberality of the reigning duke. It was here perhaps that he became a pupil of the famous Ludovicus Cælius Rhodiginus, whom he has repeatedly mentioned as his preceptor,[u] and who was professor of eloquence in that university before his removal to Padua.[x] The poverty of his present

[u] Jul. Scaligeri Poetice, lib. iii, cap. cxxvi, Poemata, tom. i, p. 806.

[x] Tomasini Elogia Virorum Illustrium, tom. ii, p. 63.

condition led Scaliger to form a determination of assuming the habit of St. Francis: he accordingly resorted to the university of Bologna, and commenced his acquaintance with the writings of the subtle doctor; but his affection for a monastic life soon began to cool. The Franciscans he afterwards hated with as much cordiality as his friend Buchanan; and never willingly interchanged a single word with any member of that pious fraternity. Having passed into Piedmont for the purpose of visiting some of his fellow-students to whom he was much attached, he obtained the command of a troop of light horse from the French general who presided in that province; and, according to the report of his son, he performed such gallant service that he recommended himself to the personal notice of Francis the first. In the midst of his warlike broils he did not forget the pursuits of literature. His acquaintance with a physician of Turin produced an accidental bias towards the study of medicine; which he began to prosecute with all the ardour incident to so vigorous a mind. His military duty and nocturnal lucubrations, added to the inclemency of the sky, subjected him to a violent attack of the gout; but he had no sooner recovered his strength than he recurred with his wonted eagerness to the occupations of war and letters. Hitherto he was unacquainted with the Greek tongue; and although he had already ex-

ceeded the thirty-fifth year of his age, he applied himself to its acquisition with the utmost pertinacity and success. This intenseness of study having excited a fit of the gout more excruciating than the former, he determined to abandon the profession of a soldier. The bishop of Agen, who was related to some of his particular friends in Piedmont, having persuaded Scaliger to accompany him to his diocese as a military protector, it was the learned warrior's destiny to be there arrested by the charms of Andiette de Roques Lobeiac, a hopeful damsel of thirteen. Scaliger was more than triple that age, but he was a scholar, and a soldier, and possessed the still superior recommendation of a tall and noble person. It is not however astonishing that the relations of Andiette, who was descended of a good family, should hesitate as to the expediency of her accepting the hand of a wrong-headed adventurer. They contrived to defer the match for the space of three years; but having persisted in his scheme with that pertinacity which characterized all his actions, he was at length successful. With this amiable woman, who became the mother of fifteen children, his union was fortunate in every respect; she not only inherited landed property, but possessed other recommendations of a more valuable nature. She composed the wanderings of his desultory life; diverted the current of his native irritability; released him from the

ordinary cares of domestic economy; watched over him during the periodical returns of his gout, with the sedulity of a servant, and the tenderness of a wife. Scaliger now established himself as a physician at Agen, where he spent the remainder of his days. His name was yet unknown in the republic of letters; but notwithstanding the irregular tenor of his life, he had provided a large fund of erudition, and panted to signalize himself as a literary gladiator. Erasmus had now attained to the summit of reputation, and Scaliger selected him as an antagonist not altogether unworthy of himself. In the year 1528 Erasmus had published his *Ciceronianus*, a very ingenious dialogue in which he exposes the laborious trifling of the professed Ciceronians; and in 1531 Scaliger published what he terms an oration in defence of Cicero against Erasmus. The very title of his work affords a proof of his having mistaken the question; for it was not the scope of the other production to extenuate the merits of Cicero himself, but to explode the preposterous notions of those servile admirers who hesitated to employ a single word or phrase, unless it had been sanctioned by the authority of their favourite author But if Erasmus had called Cicero a blockhead and a rascal, and had himself been entitled to those appellations, Scaliger could hardly have attacked him in a more ferocious manner. His interference was the more impertinent, as he defended Cicero in a style by no

means Ciceronian. Erasmus had hitherto been unacquainted even with the name of the writer who now assailed him with such rudeness; and from internal evidence he was firmly persuaded that at least the principal part of the oration had been composed by Hieronymus Aleander.[y] As he did not condescend to reply, his conduct was the most mortifying which he could possibly have adopted. Scaliger finding himself thus treated with silent contempt, prepared a second oration still more injurious than the first; but it was not printed till after the death of the illustrious man whom he had loaded with unmerited and unprovoked insults.[z] In his subsequent pro-

[y] Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i, p. 517.

[z] Scaliger's invectives were afterwards reprinted in one volume: "Jul. Cæs. Scaligeri adversus Desid. Erasmum Orationes duæ, Eloquentiæ Romanæ vindices: una cum ejusdem Epistolis, et Opusculis aliquot nondum vulgatis." Tolosæ, 1621, 4to. Sixteen of his letters relative to this contest occur in the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. vi, p. 508, tom. viii, p. 554. Bayle, in his account of Erasmus, has detected the younger Scaliger in several inaccurate assertions with respect to his father's declamations. (Jos. Scaligeri *Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*, p. 313, edit. 1617.)

The editor of those two orations was P. J. Maussac. (Colomiés, *Bibliotheque Choisie*, p. 112.) It was likewise by his zealous care that one of Scaliger's posthumous works was rescued from oblivion: "Aristotelis Historia de Animalibus, Julio Cæsare Scaligero interprete, cum ejusdem Commentariis." Tolosæ, 1619, fol. His admiration of Scaliger, as will appear from the subsequent quotation, was fervent enough. "Omnes, erudite lector, qui paulo humaniores sunt, et gustum aliquem habent bonarum literarum, statim fassuri sunt, Jul. Cæs. Scaligerum omnes superioris ævi eruditos, et *arte dicendi*, et scientiarum varietate, longe post terga reliquisse." (Maussaci *Prolegomena.)* It is surprizing that so learned a man should have entertained this opinion, but not surprizing that a man who entertained it should himself write in so indifferent a style.

ductions, he alternately mentions Erasmus with admiration and contempt. With the same furious illiberality he afterwards commenced his attack on Cardan, not the least famous of his cotemporaries. His work entitled *De Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum*, was printed at Paris in the year 1557; and a more dogmatical or captious book never made its appearance. That he was urged to these contests by the simple love of truth, cannot easily be supposed: he hoped to acquire immortal renown by asserting his superiority over men whose names were so familiar to the learned of every nation; and the spirit which he commonly evinces is that of a literary ruffian. The productions which have chiefly perpetuated his fame are the two treatises on poetry, and the principles of the Latin language: in these he displays wonderful sagacity and erudition, but is frequently misled by an inherent love of paradox and contradiction. Huet represents him as a man of a vast and elevated genius, but of a very bad taste in poetry;[a] and it must be acknowledged that the judgments which he pronounces on some of the principal poets of antiquity, have deservedly

The talents of Scaliger were of the first order, but his diction is not unfrequently barbarous and disgusting.

Among the correspondence of Gesner is a poor letter from Sylvius Cæsar the son of J. C. Scaliger. (Gesneri *Epistolæ Medicinales*, f. 132. Tiguri, 1577, 4to.) Sylvius, according to Thuanus, "portoit les armes, et ne sçavoit pas beaucoup." (*Thuana*, p. 196.)

[a] Huetiana, p. 90.

superseded his claims of infallibility. His own efforts as a poet have but little tendency to recommend him as a critic: his verses, which amount to a very formidable number, are for the most part elaborately composed, and frequently are pregnant with ingenious and subtle thought; but they are inelegant, harsh, and obscure. Having exceeded the seventh-fourth year of his age, this singular man was numbered with the dead on the twenty-first day of October 1558. Josephus Justus Scaliger, who was his tenth child, had then completed his eighteenth year. He was born at Agen on the fifth of August 1540, and died at Leyden on the twenty-first of January 1609. During the last four years of his life, Julius was half a Lutheran; and Joseph renounced the Popish doctrines at an early crisis. With respect to their comparative excellence in literature, different opinions have been entertained: Morhoff awards to the father the praise of superior genius;[b] but Jortin characterizes the son as "the best critic and the greatest scholar that ever was born."[c] His knowledge of languages

[b] Morhofius de Pura Dictione Latina, p. 266.

[c] Jortin's Tracts, vol. ii, p. 147.—Of the life of Joseph Scaliger, no very satisfactory account has yet appeared. The best materials occur in his own correspondence, and in that of his learned cotemporaries. Heinsius published two orations on his death. Lugd. Bat. 1609, 4to. Another on the same subject was pronounced by Baudius, who writes very elegantly in prose and in verse. (Baudii *Epistolæ et Orationes*, p. 632.) The opinions of many authors relative to Scaliger have been industriously col-

was prodigious; and yet Latin was almost the only one which he did not acquire without the aid of a preceptor. For the short space of two months he attended the Greek lectures of Turnebus at Paris; and afterwards by his undirected exertions surmounted the difficulties of that tongue with incredible rapidity.[d] His Greek have been preferred to his Latin verses. The reflection that Scaliger, Cujacius, Muretus, and Ramus, were self-taught scholars, ought to operate as a most powerful incentive on the mind of the ingenuous youth, debarred from the usual avenues of intellectual improvement.

About the period when Buchanan was accustomed to visit Agen, Joseph Scaliger was yet in his infancy; but he inherited his father's high admiration of the Scotish poet. To Buchanan

lected by Colomiés. (*Gallia Orientalis*, p. 118). A sketch of his life may be found in Niceron, tom xxiii, p. 279.

[d] "Igitur vix delibatis conjugationibus Græcis," says Jos. Scaliger, "Homerum cum interpretatione arreptum uno et viginti diebus totum didici: poeticæ vero dialecti vestigiis insistens grammaticam mihi ipse formavi: neque ullam aliam didici, quam quæ mihi ex analogia verborum Homericorum observata fuit. Reliquos vero poetas Græcos omnes intra quatuor menses devoravi." (*Epistolæ*, p. 51.) This is certainly astonishing enough; but Huet's mode of refutation is not less singular. "*Experimento* tandem *meo* comperi inania hæc esse Scaligeranæ ostentationis specimina; qualia multa sparsim adspersit operibus suis vir ille, excellentis cæteroquin doctrinæ et ingenii, sed nimium admirator et prædicator sui." (Huetii *Commentarius de Rebus ad* eum *pertinentibus*, p. 38. Hag. Com. 1718, 12mo.) Here the vanity of Scaliger is exposed with equal vanity; for unless Huet supposed his capacity equal to Scaliger's, he could not thus have appealed to his own experience.

he awarded a decided superiority over all the Latin poets of those times.[e]

During the term of his residence in the College of Guienne, the satirist of the Scotish clergy did not find himself totally secure from danger. Cardinal Beaton, in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, requested him to secure the person of the heretical poet; but as this letter had been intrusted to the care of some individual much interested in the welfare of Buchanan, he was suffered to remain without molestation. Still however he found himself annoyed by the threats of the cardinal and the grey friars: but the death of King James, and the appearance of a dreadful plague in Guienne, alleviated his former apprehensions.

Having resided three years at Bourdeaux, he afterwards removed to Paris. In 1544 he was officiating as a regent in the College of Cardinal le Moine;[f] and he apparently retained the same

[e] "Buchananus unus est in tota Europa omnes post se relinquens in Latina poesi." *(Prima Scaligerana*, p. 37.) In his history of Scotland, Buchanan has contrived to mention the son of his deceased friend. "Josephus Scaliger Julii filius legendum censet *Scotobrigantas*. Is juvenis quanta sit eruditione et judicio, quaque in vetustis scriptis conferendis industria, et abstrusis sensibus eruendis acumine, monumenta ab eo edita testantur." *(Rerum Scotic. Hist.* p. 42.)

[f] In the very brief sketch of his own life, Buchanan makes no allusion to his having taught in that college: the fact may however be established by several circumstances. In his fourth elegy, he mentions Gelida as his associate; and that learned Spaniard is known to have belonged to the College of Cardinal le Moine. Moreri asserts that Buchanan, Turnebus, and Muretus, taught in that college at the same time; and

station till 1547. About the former of these periods he was miserably tormented with the gout. The ardour of his fancy was however undiminished: in an interesting elegy, composed in 1544, and addressed to his late colleagues Tastæus and Tevius, he exhibits a dismal picture of his own situation; and gratefully commemorates the assiduous attentions of his present associates Turnebus and Gelida.

O animæ, Ptolemææ, meæ pars altera, tuque
  Altera pars animæ, Tevi Jacobe, meæ,
Scire juvat quid agam? vivo modo, si modo vivit
  Pondus iners, animæ corpus inane suæ.
Sed tamen ingratas ceu vivi ducimus auras,
  Et trahit exanimem languida vita moram.
Ignea vis febris rapido sic perfurit æstu,
  Ut minus Ætnæi sæviat ira rogi.
Torrida concretis lapidescunt viscera grumis,
  Et latebras renum calculus urit atrox:[g]
Ut Cereris possint, ut Bacchi munera credi
  Tacta Medusæis obriguisse comis.

though the general accuracy of this writer is not conspicuous, yet his testimony may be added to the other indications. Nicolas Bourbon, royal professor of Greek at Paris, who died at a very advanced age in 1644, assured Menage of the same circumstance. "J'ai oüi dire la même chose au Pere Bourbon, qui étoit un bon regître de semblables choses." (Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. i, p. 328.)

[g] Dr. Stuart specifies the stone as Buchanan's mortal disease: "Afflicted with the stone, and pressed down by the infirmities of old age, he felt the approach of his dissolution, and prepared for it like a philosopher." (*Hist. of Scotland.* vol. ii, p. 242.) This seems to be one of the bold assertions for which his work is so remarkable. His character of Buchanan is admirably delineated, but it is considerably indebted to the aid of a good invention.

Sed tamen hæc nostri levis est accessio morbi,
Et pars immensi vix numeranda mali:
Humor enim cunctos late diffusus in artus,
Qua jungunt flexus ossibus ossa suos,
Obsedit cæcas pigro marcore lacunas,
Cunctaque torpenti frigore membra ligat.
Ex humeris pendent sine robore brachia laxa,
Nec fluidum cervix sustinet ægra caput:
Genua labant, et crura tremunt, lassique recusant,
Tam celeres nuper, me modo ferre pedes.
Sic ego defunctus jam vivo, mihique superstes,
Et vitæ amisso munere fata moror:
Quodque mihi superest fugitivæ lucis, id omne
Dividit in pœnas Parca severa meas.[h]

Having finished the description of his *case*, he introduces the names of several individuals to whom he seems to have been attached.

Denique vos animis talem me fingite; quales
Ad tumulos manes credit adesse timor;
Qualia pinguntur miseris simulacra figuris
Terrificæ Mortis, mortiferæque Famis.
At neque Tastæus, nec Tevius assidet, ore
Suaviloquo longum qui vetet essé diem:
Nec mihi delicias blandi facit oris Alanus,
Nec lepida alludit garrulitate Petrus:
Nec recreant animum doctis sermonibus ægrum
Cætera Vasconicæ turba diserta scholæ.

h Buchanani Eleg. iv. *Ad Ptolemæum Luxium Tastæum, et Jacobum Tevi-um, cum articulari morbo laboraret.* M.D.XLIV.—The second of Buchanan's *Silvæ* is a pastoral entitled "Desiderium P. L. Tastæi." From these two productions it may be collected that Tastæus was a native of Gascony, and that he had been associated with Buchanan in the College of Guienne.

Sed nec amicitiæ mihi pectora cognita certæ
In mediis hic me deseruere malis.
Sæpe mihi medicas Groscollius explicat herbas,
Et spe languentem consilioque juvat:
Sæpe mihi *Stephani* solertia provida *Carli*
Ad mala præsentem tristia portat opem.
TURNEBUS Aonii rarissima gloria cœtus
Officiis vacuum non sinit ire diem:
Cæteraque ut cessent, GELIDÆ pia cura sodalis
Et patris et patriæ sustinet usque vicem.

Carolus Stephanus, whose medical aid Buchanan has thus acknowledged, was a doctor of physic of the faculty of Paris; and, like many of his relations, was equally distinguished as a scholar and as a printer.[1] After having produced various

1 Henricus Stephanus, or *Estienne*, established a press at Paris about the year 1500. His son Robertus was born in 1503, and died in 1559. He had continued the same business at Paris; but in 1552 he betook himself to Geneva, where he died in the communion of the reformed church. He was eminently skilled in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. He chiefly distinguished himself by his edition of the Hebrew scriptures, and by his *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ*. His brothers Franciscus and Carolus were printers at Paris. The former was also a bookseller; and in the printing business was associated with his step-father Simon Colinæus. Carolus, among other works of his own composition, published the *Thesaurus M. Tullii Ciceronis*. 1556, fol. This book is now sold "insano pretio." The second Henricus Stephanus, who was the son of Robertus, was born at Paris in 1528 and died at Lyons in 1598. Most of his impressions were executed at Paris, but he had also a press at Geneva. Notwithstanding his eminence as a printer and as a scholar, he failed to amass riches; and he is even reported to have closed his long and useful life in an hospital. "Cum patriam oblivisci non posset," says Cornelius Tollius, "Lugdunum se contulit; ubi opibus, atque ipso etiam ingenio destitutus, vitæ, et tot exantlatis pro republica literaria laboribus, in noscomio finem fecit." (*Appendix ad Pierium de Literatorum Infelicitate*, p. 88.) For this assertion

works in the Latin and French languages, he died at Paris in the year 1564.

In the College of Cardinal le Moine Buchanan was associated with colleagues worthy of himself; with Turnebus and Muretus, two of the most eminent scholars of modern times; and with Joannes Gelida, who, though of inferior fame, has also been characterized as a man of great acuteness and erudition. It is remarked by M. de Marolles that three of the most learned men in the world then taught humanity in the same college.[k] The first class was taught by Turnebus, the second by Buchanan, and the third by Muretus.[l]

Tollius quotes no authority; and it is to be hoped that he had been misinformed. Robertus the brother of H. Stephanus was disinherited on account of his attachment to Popery; but he succeeded his father at Paris as printer to the king. He wrote various fugitive poems in Greek and Latin. He is supposed by Maittaire to have died in 1588. His son Franciscus having embraced the reformed religion, established a press at Geneva. Paulus the son of the second H. Stephanus was also a Protestant: having settled at Geneva, he printed various works in a correct manner, and contributed to support the reputation of the family. He is the author of several Latin poems. The third Robertus, son of the second, began to be distinguished at Paris as a printer about the year 1588. He was a writer of Greek and Latin verses; and translated into French the first two books of Aristotle's rhetoric. The version was completed by a nephew who bore the same name. Antonius the son of Paulus was printer to the French king during the earlier part of the seventeeth century. Of the name of Stephanus there were other printers, whose history cannot be traced with sufficient accuracy. Consult Almeloveen *De Vitis Stephanorum*, Amst. 1683, 8vo; and more particularly Maittaire's *Historia Stephanorum*. Lond. 1709, 8vo.

[k] Marolles, Abregé de l' Hist. de France, p. 324, quoted by Teissier.

[l] Moreri, Dictionaire Historique, art. *Muret*.

Adrianus Turnebus, if any reliance may be placed on the dubious authority of Dempster, was the descendent of Scotish ancestors;[m] and it is at least certain that his original name furnishes us with a plausible argument of his compatriotism. His French name, it seems to be admitted, was originally Tournebeuf;[n] which is a correct translation of the Scotish Turnbull. He was born however at Andely near Roüen in Normandy in the year 1512. Having been sent to Paris in the eleventh year of his age, he soon rose to great distinction as an elegant and profound scholar. The history of his academical promotions has not been very accurately detailed; but he is known to have taught humanity at Toulouse, and afterwards, through the influence of °Petrus Gal-

[m] "Scotum fuisse," says Dempster, "acta familiæ leguntur, ut mihi sæpe referebat v. cl. filius ipsius, summus Lutetiæ senator, quem virtutum non nominis modo hæredem immaturum ex sacro ordine ante triennium mors rapuit." (*Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotorum*, p. 624.) If Dempster had quoted the authority of a living voucher, it would have been less suspicious.

[n] Mollerus de Scriptoribus Homonymis, p. 790. Hamb. 1697, 8vo.—His common French name Turnebe is formed from his Latin name Turnebus. Of the same process many other instances might be specified. The original name of the Genevan reformer was Cauvin: this he Latinized Calvinus, and afterwards adopted Calvin as his vernacular name. The original name of one of his learned antagonists was Baudouin, afterwards transformed into Balduinus and Balduin. Pasquier sometimes speaks of Tournebu, sometimes of Tournebus. Bulæus mentions a "Jacobus de Tournebu, bursarius et primarius Collegii Gervasiani anno 1522." (*Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis*, tom. vi, p. 918.)

° Turnebi Adversaria, lib. ii, cap. i, Oratio habita post J. Tusani

landius, to have obtained a Greek professorship at Paris. To this was added, in 1552, the appointment of Greek printer to the king; but on being nominated, in 1555, royal professor of philosophy and of the Greek language, he resigned his typographical charge.[p] To the infinite regret of learning and virtue, he died on the twelfth of June 1565. It was his earnest request that his body should be interred without the usual ceremonies of the Popish church; and at nine o'clock in the evening of the same day, it was accordingly deposited in the earth by a small number of his friends. He had lived without any open avowal of his affection for the reformation;[q] but on being interrogated a few days previous to his death, he professed his abhorrence of Popery.[r] The earnestness with which both parties claimed him as their associate, affords a strong proof of the importance attached to his name. He has

Mortem, cum in ejus locum suffectus est, p. 31.—Jacobus Tusanus died in the year 1546. (Bulæus, tom. vi, p. 944.)

[p] Maittaire, Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium, p. 50, 56. Lond. 1717, 8vo.

[q] Leodegarii a Quercu Oratio Funebris de Vita et Morte Adriani Turnebi, p. 102.—This oration occurs among the miscellaneous works of Turnebus. Argentorati, 1600, fol. His *Adversaria* form a separate volume of the same size. His poems are reprinted in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*, tom iii. Le Laboureur has republished a poem entitled "Poltrotus Meræus Adriani Turnebi." (*Additions aux Memoires de Michel de Castelnau*, tom. ii, p. 226.) He seems however to have entertained doubts of its genuineness.

[r] Epistola quæ vere exponit Obitum Adriani Turnebi. Paris. 1565, 4to.

been characterized as a man adorned by every virtue; and no individual seems to have been more generally revered by his cotemporaries. The secret of his art of pleasing has thus been revealed by H. Stephanus:

Cur placuit cunctis Turnebus? cur tot amici
Illi, vix hostes unus et alter erant?
Cur placuit cunctis? tot linguis lingua diserta
Totne illi potuit conciliare viros?
Cur placuit cunctis? an quod certare videbant
Judicii dotes dotibus ingenii?
Cur placuit cunctis? cunctis placuitne quod artes
Excoluit Graias, excoluit Latias?
Cur placuit cunctis? an quod totusque lepores
Spiraret, totus quod lepidosque sales?
Causæ equidem sunt hæ: sed et hæc est maxima causa,
Hic placuit cunctis, quod sibi non placuit.[s]

Turnebus died at an age which to a literary man is supposed to be the prime of life; but he died not before he had attained to the highest reputation by his academical prelections, and by the various works which he has bequeathed to posterity. In several of the German universities, it was customary for the professors, when in their public lectures they quoted the authority of Turnebus and Cujacius, to move the right hand to their cap, in token of the profound veneration with which they regarded their memory.[t] His un-

[s] Herodotus Latine. Excudebat H. Stephanus, 1566, fol.
[t] Pasquier, Recherches de la France, p. 894.

abating ardour of study rendered him conspicuous at a period when study was a general passion; and, like Budæus, he even devoted several hours of his nuptial day to the pursuits of literature. His learning was variegated, elegant, and profound. He was equally a master of Greek and Roman philology. It was the great object of his labours to illustrate the reliques of ancient genius; and for this department he was eminently qualified by his sagacity and erudition. It was indeed objected by a cotemporary scholar of high reputation, that in reviewing the writings of the ancients, he was too fond of proposing conjectural emendations.[u] This fault is however incident to most critics of prompt and keen discernment: they are more apt to render suspected passages what they ought to have been, than what they originally were. His Latin versions are executed with great fidelity and skill.[x]

One of his accomplished friends has remarked, that in his writings he was as violent against those who merited his indignation, as he was gentle in his manners towards men of worth and learning.[y] On several occasions he has indeed manifested considerable warmth. Respecting some of the works of Cicero which he had illustrated by his observations, he was led into a controversy with

[u] Victorii Variæ Lectiones, p. 425, edit. Florent. 1582, fol.

[x] Huetius de Interpretatione, p. 158. Paris. 1661, 4to.

[y] Lettres d'Etienne Pasquier, tom. i, p. 556.

Ramus and his admirer Audomarus Talæus.[z] Though in an earlier work he had mentioned him with high respect,[a] it must be acknowledged that even Ramus himself he treated with abundant contempt. Turnebus was also embroiled with Bodin, another writer of superior endowments. Bodin published an edition of the Cynegetics of Oppian, accompanied with emendations which Turnebus immediately claimed as his.[b] He how-

[z] Talæus, among other works, published a compendium of rhetoric. The learned Mr. Chalmers speaks of the rhetoric of *Tulæus* or *Tully! (Life of Ruddiman*, p. 90. The same notable writer has exhibited another specimen of his classical erudition in the preceding page; where he enumerates "Cicero's Epistles de Senectute, de Amicitio; Terence's Comedies and Elegies; Ovid's Tristium." And this, forsooth, is the person who talks of Buchanan's ignorance.

[a] Turnebus de Methodo, p. 1.

[b] Bodin's edition includes a poetical version, and a commentary. "Oppiani de Venatione libri IIII. Joan. Bodino Andegavensi interprete. Ad D. Gabrielem Boverium Andium Episcopum. His accessit Commentarius varius et multiplex, ejusdem interpretis." *Lutetiæ, apud Michaelem Vascosanum*, 1555, 4to. The edition of Turnebus soon followed. Ὀππιανοῦ Ἀναζαρβέως Ἁλιευτικῶν βιβλία ἑ. Κυνηγετικῶν βιβλία δ'. *Parisiis, apud Adr. Turnebum typographum regium*, 1555, 4to. After the various readings and emendations, Turnebus has subjoined an address which evidently alludes to the conduct of Bodin. "Septem abhinc annis leviter emendaveram Oppianum de Venatione, partim animi conjectura, partim libri veteris ope. Eas emendationes quidam usurpavit, et sibi donavit, quas tamen non putabam tanti, ut in furtivis rebus esse deberent: eas a nobis vindicatas et recuperatas esse nemo conqueri debebit. Nam rerum furtivarum lege æterna est auctoritas. Non me latet," &c. The following manuscript notice occurs in the margin of the copy which belonged to Isaac Casaubon, and which is now deposited in the British Museum. "Is est Jo. Bodinus, qui tamen hoc negat, et de Turnebo conqueritur. Ego Turnebum verum scio loqui." The complaint to which Casaubon refers is a passage in Bodin's *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*,

ever claimed them without that violence of invective which philologers have so frequently displayed on similar occasions; and according to Bongars, this plagiarism of Bodin was notorious among their countrymen.[c]

Marcus Antonius Muretus was considerably younger than Buchanan and Turnebus. He was born at the village of Muret near Limoges, on the twelfth of April 1526. Like several other scholars of the greatest name, he was his own preceptor.[d] He was successively a public teacher of humanity, philosophy, or jurisprudence, at Auch, Villeneuve d'Agen, Paris, Bourdeaux, Poitiers, and Toulouse.[e] At Toulouse he fell under suspicion of an abominable crime, and even incurred some hazard of being committed to the flames;

p. 94. Paris. 1566, 4to. "Quos ego libros cum Latino versu et commentariis illustrassem, quidam grammaticus eosdem libros oratione soluta, quantum libuit de meo labore detrahens, iterum pervulgavit." The version of Oppian which accompanies the elegant edition of Turnebus was printed by G. Morel. The literal translation of the Cynegetics is by the admirable editor; the poetical translation of the Halieutics by Laurentius Lippius.

c "Jam edidisse illum lectiones Turnebi in Oppianum pro suis, nemo nostrorum ignorat." See a letter from Bongars to Rittershusius, published by Colomiés, *Gallia Orientalis*, p. 83. Hagæ Comitis, 1665, 4to.

d Sammarthani Elogia Gallorum Doctrina Illustrium, p. 85.

e Menage, who intended to publish a life of Muretus, has endeavoured to ascertain the order of his regencies; but notwithstanding his consummate knowledge of literary history, he seems to have left the subject involved in considerable doubt. (*Anti-Baillet*, tom. i, p. 327.) The funeral oration of Bencius contains various errors relative to the history of Muretus before his settlement in Italy. (Jos. Scaligeri *Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*, p. 451.)

but a counsellor of the parliament having communicated to him a dark intimation of his danger in a solitary line of Virgil,[f] he fled towards Italy with the utmost terror and precipitation. His consternation, among other effects, produced a mobility in his ears.[g] Having thus abandoned his native country in the year 1554, he fixed his residence at Venice, where he opened a public lecture in the Franciscan monastery.[h] He afterwards removed to Padua, and received pupils into his house;[i] and here he was again suspected of

[f] Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum.

[g] Casauboni Animadversiones in Athenæum, lib. x, cap. i.—"Casaubonus notat," says Petrus Petitus, "a viris fide dignis se accepisse, visas manifesto aures moveri viro cuidam eruditissimo, cum per Allobrogum fines transiens vivicomburii periculum sibi a magistratu inminere intellexisset: quod diceretur nefandi criminis reus Tolosa in Italiam fugere. Ex quibus circumstantiis conjectare licet, hunc virum eruditissimum, Muretum fuisse, quem constat sodomiæ accusatum flammas fuga evasisse." (*Commentarii in tres priores Aretæi libros*, p. 17. Lond. 1726, 4to.) The same conjecture had been adopted by another writer. (Colomesii *Opuscula*, p. 39.)

Procopius, who represents Justinian as a mere ass, has averred that the resemblance also obtained in the article of moving ears. Ἠλίθιος τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, καὶ νωθεῖ ὄνῳ ἐμφερὴς μάλιστα. καὶ οἷος τῷ τὸν χαλινὸν ἕλκοντι ἕπεσθαι· συχνὰ οἱ σειομένων τῶν ὤτων· (*Historia Arcana*, p. 36, edit. Alemanni. Lugd. 1623, fol.) "For he was prodigiously stupid, and bore a very strong resemblance to a sluggish ass: he was apt to follow any person who seized the bridle; and he likewise exhibited a frequent mobility in his ears." Justinian however did not literally wear a bridle; and perhaps those last expressions are also to be received in a figurative sense.

[h] Ghilini, Teatro d'Huomini Letterati, vol. i, p. 165.

[i] Joan. Mich. Bruti Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum, p. 401, 403. Lugd. 1561, 8vo.—The correspondence of Muretus and Lambinus, reprinted

the same foul crime.[k] Six years after his settlement in Italy, he was invited to Rome by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este; and in the house of that illustrious churchman, and of his brother Lodovico, who had arrived at the same high preferment, he continued till the time of his death. By his various writings, and by his prelections in the Roman university, he now acquired a reputation almost unrivalled. He successively filled with the same applause, the departments of philosophy, civil law, and humanity.[l] At the sedate age of fifty, he entered into holy orders. The younger Scaliger, if his sentiments be faithfully represented, was disposed to regard him as a mere atheist; nor is it difficult to conceive that the rank soil of Rome produced atheistical priests in great abundance. Erythræus, who extols his piety with much grimace, has recorded it as a memorable circumstance that when his health permitted, he daily celebrated mass with many tears. He died at Rome on the fourth of June 1585, and left a moral character which it is not too harsh to consider as extremely dubious.[m] Of the abominable crime repeatedly laid to his charge

from the very rare collection of Brutus, may be found in Ruhnkenius's edition of Muretus, tom. i, p. 379.

[k] Mureti Opera, tom. i, p. 390.

[l] Bencii Orationes, p. 241. Erythræi Pinacotheca, tom. i, p. 11.

[m] Gallia quod peperit, pepulit quod Gallia monstrum,
Quem Veneti profugum non potuere pati,

he was perhaps innocent: he must either have been very guilty, or very unfortunate.[n] A rumor likewise prevailed of his having polluted his hands with blood. He was besides accused of an intemperate use of wine;[o] and when a benefice suddenly converted him into a saint, he himself acknowledged that the former part of his life had been sensual and gross.[p] The evidence of his speculative atheism is certainly incompetent; but the injurious imputations attached to his personal character, derive the strongest confirmation from

Muretum esse sibi civem jussere Quirites,
Et tumulo extinctum composuere suo.
Vivere nam potius qua debuit urbe cinædus?
Impius et quanam dignius urbe mori?

Bezæ Poemata Varia, p. 144.

[n] There is one charge of which Muretus may very readily be acquitted; namely that of having composed an impious book, *De Tribus Impostoribus*, on the three impostors, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. This book has with the utmost confidence been imputed to many authors, of different ages, and of the most opposite denominations; but it is extremely evident that such a book never existed. See M. de la Monnoye's "Lettre à M. Bouhier sur le prétendu livre des trois Imposteurs." (*Menagiana*, tom. iv, p. 374.)

[o] "Sed crimen istud," says Erythræus, "illudque, quod in Gallia hominem occiderit, et interdum vino se ad ebrietatem onerarit, si vera forent, posset aliquis *juventutis excusatione* defendere." (*Pinacotheca*, tom. i, p. 13.) Sodomy and murder being mere peccadillos, ought by all means to be excused in a lad of spirit.

[p] Curæ magis mî est, *lustra* jam *decem* miser
Qualibus in vitiis defixus ipse erraverim;
Cum me, Dei vix jam manente imagine,
Mortifera induerat fœdam voluptas in suem.

Mureti Opera, tom. i, p. 766.

the profligate strain of his writings.[q] The obsequiousness with which he adapted himself to the pestiferous meridian of Rome, cannot but be regarded as an indication of practical atheism: in two of his elegant orations, he has exerted all his skill to embalm the loathsome putrescence of Charles the ninth; and his elaborate encomium on the massacre of St. Bartholomew must be remembered to his eternal infamy.[r] The guilt of those execrable proliticians who produced this unparalleled scene of butchery, is hardly to be compared to that of the enlightened scholar who could calmly extol so damnable a deed. To suppose Muretus an atheist, is more charitable than to suppose the contrary.[s]

[q] The conduct of Muretus was Jesuitical enough; but the excellent Dr. Jortin is mistaken in supposing that he was literally a Jesuit. (*Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii, p. 13.) This mistake, which had also been committed by Thomasius, seems to have originated from the circumstance of his funeral oration having been pronounced by the Jesuit Bencius.

[r] "O noctem illam memorabilem et in fastis eximiæ alicujus notæ adjectione signandam, quæ paucorum seditiosorum interitu regem a præsenti cædis periculo, regnum a perpetua civilium bellorum formidine liberavit! Qua quidem nocte stellas equidem ipsas luxisse solito nitidius arbitror; et flumen Sequanam majores undas volvisse, quo citius illa impurorum hominum cadavera evolveret et exoneraret in mare. O fœlicissimam mulierem Catharinam regis matrem," &c.

MURETI Opera, tom. i, p. 177.

[s] Menage professes to regard his memory with "toute sorte de veneration: aiant appris du Jésuite Bencius, que les neuf dernieres années de sa vie il étoit d'une dévotion si fervente qu'il pleuroit en disant la messe." (*Anti-Baillet*, tom. i, p. 319.) A funeral oration, composed by a Jesuit, and delivered in Rome, is certainly the most slender authority that could

These disgraceful characteristics of the man render the most elegant of his works less palatable. He was however a scholar of the first magnitude. He has written in prose and in verse with the same purity and elegance: but his chief distinction is that of an excellent philologer; for although his diction is very seldom unclassical, yet he rarely evinces the native elevation of a poet or orator. Before he had been accused at Toulouse, and consequently before he had assumed the consummate hypocrisy of a Roman courtier, Buchanan addressed to him some verses in commendation of his tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*.[t]

Buchanan, Turnebus, and Muretus, although they spent the best part of their lives in scholastic occupations, contracted none of the peculiarities incident to their profession. It was a customary remark of the famous poet Ronsard that

easily be produced in favour of clerical piety. All that can be concluded from the elegant flourishes of Bencius is, that Muretus never dreamed of piety till he became a priest. (*Orationes*, p. 248.) He was tempted with a benefice of five hundred crowns a year; and for retaining that benefice it was necessary "qu'il chantast messe et fist deux leçons la semaine." (*Scaligerana*, p. 164.) When Erythræus remarks that he said mass as often as his health would permit, we may perhaps conclude that in general it permitted him just as often as he found it expedient, namely twice every week. The Latin hymns which he published while a layman are not to be regarded as a proof of his devotion; for, as he has taken care to inform his reader, their composition was a task imposed upon him.

[t] This tragedy of Muretus was printed among his *Juvenilia*. Paris. 1553, 8vo.—The collective edition of his works which I use is that published by the very learned David Ruhnkenius. Lugd. Bat. 1789, 4 tom. 8vo.

those admirable scholars, together with Anthony Govea, all of whom were his intimate friends, presented nothing of the pedagogue except the gown and cap.[u] Ronsard had been accustomed to live with men of courtly manners, and may be considered as no incompetent judge of politeness.

Joannes Gelida, another member of the same college, and an associate to whose pious care Buchanan acknowledges himself to have been so much indebted, was a native of Valencia; which was likewise the birth-place of Joannes Ludovicus Vives, one of the most enlightened men of his age.[x] Gelida emigrated from Spain at an early period of life, and prosecuted his academical studies at Paris. In that university, his talents procured him the appointment of a public teacher of what was then called philosophy. His stature was somewhat diminutive; but as his natural acuteness was accompanied with powerful lungs and a clear voice, he appeared to great advantage in the disputations. But the unprofitable and barbarous science in which he had been initiated, was now beginning to be exploded: the

[u] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. iv, p. 99.

[x] Vives, who was a layman, and a member of the university of Oxford, was born at Valencia in the year 1492, and died at Bruges on the sixth of May 1540. Georgius Fabricius classes him with Erasmus and Budæus:

Judicio Vives, sermonis flumine Erasmus,
Doctrinæ primas laude Budæus habet.

exertions of Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, and other champions, had at length introduced into that flourishing seminary a more genuine species of philosophy. Gelida, at the mature age of forty, began to discover that he had hitherto been exercised in laborious trifles; but his mind still retained its youthful elasticity, and he determined to retrace the course of his studies. He now applied himself, for the first time, to the attentive perusal of Cicero and other Roman authors of classical fame; and afterwards, with great avidity, to the acquisition of the Greek tongue, which he had entirely neglected in his earlier years. His strenuous perseverence soon conducted him to uncommon proficiency as a polite scholar; and it is this useful part of his history that entitles him to a more conspicuous station among the accomplished friends of Buchanan. Gelida is said to have presided over the college to which Buchanan now belonged; but as it is certain that he afterwards removed to Bourdeaux to act as Govea's surrogate, this statement may justly be suspected of inaccuracy. Leaving a widow and a little daughter, he died at Bourdeaux on the nineteenth of February 1556, after having exceeded the age of sixty. His friend Julius Scaliger composed the subsequent lines in honour of his memory.

Qui toties animam Gelida mihi magne dedisti,
(Namque anima est, anima quin mihi fama prior)
Si quantum accepi, quantum tibi debeo, pendam,
Grata nec aversus deserat ora pudor,
O animæ hujus, adhuc possis ut vivere, tecum
Partior has, fati quas dedit aura, vices.
Quod si non licet, at quantum licet, accipe famam,
Hinc tibi si qua tamen vivere fama potest.
Quod si fama tibi es, nec nostro cedis honori,
Sit sat, velle tibi, nec potuisse dare.[y]

Gelida has been celebrated by Thuanus as a man of an excellent capacity; but his academical engagements seem to have precluded him from a more extensive communication of the treasures which he had amassed. Before he extricated himself from the prevalent barbarism of the schools, he published some work relative to Aristotle's logic; and at the time of his death, it was supposed that he must have left compositions ready for the press. A collection of his familiar epistles was afterwards edited by one of his pupils, rather from a principle of respectful gratitude, than from a conviction of their being adequate to the opinion which had been conceived of so great a man.[z] They relate to subjects

[y] Jul. Scaligeri Poemata, tom. i, p. 312.

[z] Johannis Gelidæ Valentini Epistolæ et Carmina. Rupellæ, 1571, 4to. The poems thus announced in the title-page, merely consist of two epitaphs on Budæus, and an "Exhortatio de servanda Amicitia." The epitaphs had already been published by Louis le Roy. (Regii *Vita G. Budei*, p. 53.) One of them is in Greek. The editor, Jacques Busine, pre-

of a scholastic nature, and are written in a style of excellent Latinity.[a]

In the college where he found such able coadjutors, Buchanan seems to have remained several years. The king of Portugal had lately founded the university of Coimbra; and as his own dominions could not readily supply competent professors, he invited Andrew Govea to accept the principality, and to conduct from France a considerable number of proficients in philosophy and ancient literature. Govea accordingly returned to his native country in the year 1547, accompanied by Buchanan and other associates. The affairs of Europe presented an alarming aspect; and Portugal seemed to be almost the only corner free from tumults. To the proposals of Govea he had not only lent a prompt ear, but was so much satisfied with the character of his associates, that he also persuaded his brother Patrick to join this famous colony. To several of its members he had formerly been attached by the strictest ties of friendship; these were Gruchius, Garentæus, Tevius, and Vinetus, who have all distinguished themselves by the publication of learned works.[b] The other scholars of whom

fixed an account of Gelida, which Andreas Schottus has without any acknowledgment inserted in his *Bibliotheca Hispanica* Francof. 1608, 4to.

[a] Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 616. Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. i, p. 610. Niceron, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la Republique des Lettres, tom. xxii, p. 104.

[b] "Erant enim plerique per multos annos summa benevolentia con-

it consisted, were Arnoldus Fabricius,[c] John Costa, and Anthony Mendez, who are not known as authors: the first was a native of Bazats, the other two were Portugueze. All these professors, except P. Buchanan and Fabricius, had taught

juncti, ut qui ex suis monumentis orbi claruerunt, Nicolaus Gruchius, Guilielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Tevius, et Elias Vinetus. Itaque non solum se comitem libenter dedit, sed et Patricio fratri persuasit, ut se tam præclaro cœtui conjungeret." *(Buchanani Vita*, p. 6.) Of Tevius and Vinetus some account will afterwards be given. Garentæus, or Guerente, is commemorated by Montagne as a commentator on Aristotle, and as a writer of Latin tragedy. *(Essais*, liv. i, chap. xxv.) Gruchius, who was a native of Roüen, distinguished himself by the publication of several very learned works on Roman antiquities; and even Sigonius found him a formidable antagonist. Their rival productions occur in the collection of Grævius. *(Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, tom. i.) Consult however Struvii *Historia Juris Romani*, prol. § ii. Jenæ, 1718, 4to. Onuphrius Panvinius mentions Gruchius in terms of high commendation. " Nicolai Gruchii Rhotomagensis Galli viri doctissimi, et Romanæ antiquitatis peritissimi, libro quoque de comitiis usus sum; in quo universam veterum comitiorum rationem accuratissime explicuit. Ei multum Galliam, quæ est natale solum, sed plus Italiam et urbem Romam debere existimo, a quo elegantibus et eruditione plenis commentariis, hoc nostro tempore multum decoris, et in rebus obscurissimis splendoris acceperunt." *(Imperium Romanum*, p. 304.) Gruchius was not less familiarly conversant with the Greek philosophy than with Roman antiquities: he taught Aristotle in the schools with high reputation; and he corrected some of the errors committed by Perionius in translating a portion of his works. He died at Rochelle in the year 1572. (Thuani *Hist. sui Temporis*, tom. iii, p. 209. Sammarthani *Elogia Gallorum Doctrina Illustrium*, p. 52.)

[c] " Arnoldi Fabricii Vasatensis Epistolæ aliquot" are printed with the epistles of Gelida. His name is therefore inserted in the catalogue of J. A. Fabricius, who has however collected no particulars of his life. *(Centuria Fabriciorum Scriptis Clarorum*, p. 12. Hamb. 1709, 8vo.) Of this little work a continuation was published by the author in 1727, entitled " Fabriciorum Centuria secunda, cum prioris Supplemento."—" Joannis Costæ ad Lusitaniam Carmen" is prefixed to the historical production of his countryman Tevius.

in the College of Guienne.[d] To this authentic catalogue Dempster has added, probably without sufficient authority, other two Scotish names; those of John Rutherford and William Ramsay.[e]

Govea had relinquished his office at Bourdeaux in the intention of resuming it after an interval

[d] Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 617.

[e] John Rutherford, say his biographers, was a native of Glasgow. Previous to his visiting the continent, he had taught philosophy at St. Andrews; and having after his return from Portugal resumed his former situation, he ended his days in St. Salvator's College. (Dempster. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 566. Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii, p 137.) Dr Mackenzie professes to have derived part of his information from two of Rutherford's publications: *Comment. in lib. Arist. de Arte Metrica.* Edinb. 1557, 4to. *De Arte Disserendi lib.* 4. Edinb. 1580, 4to. One circumstance however contributes to render his assertions extremely dubious: from the title of the last work, as exhibited by Mr. Herbert, it appears that Rutherford was a native, not of Glasgow, but of Jedburgh: "Commentariorum de Arte Disserendi libri quatuor, Joanne Retorforti *Jedburgæo* Scoto authore." Edinb. 1577, 4to. (*Typographical Antiquities*, vol. iii, p. 1499.)

William Ramsay, says Dempster, was the companion of Buchanan's studies in France, and was likewise associated with him at Coimbra. Having quitted Portugal, he was appointed a professor in the university of Leyden, which had recently been founded. He afterwards taught philosophy at St. Andrews; where he died about the year 1590. He composed a *Judicium de Lusitanis*. The rest of his productions are carefully preserved in manuscript in the library at Leyden (Dempster, p. 564.) Jacobus Ramseius, J. C. is enumerated by Meursius among the Leyden professors of philosophy and eloquence. *Athenæ Batavæ*, p. 351.) Gifanius, in the postscript of his letter to Buchanan, mentions one Ramsay as the intimate friend of his correspondent: "Iidem illi populares tui, familiares mei, esse nunc isthic doctissimum virum D. Ramsæum, qui olim Vitebergæ professor fuit, et vertisse eum quoque multa epigrammata commemorabant. Quare cum ille tibi perfamiliaris sit, rogo te, mi domine, ut et eum admoneas ut suam symbolam conferat" (Buchanani *Epistolæ*, p. 7.) Dempster, Meursius, and Gifanius, may possibly allude, however inaccurately, to the same individual.

of two years; and in the mean time had delegated his authority to Gelida. But death arrested him in his native country. Gelida was then constituted principal of the College of Guienne, which he continued to govern till the time of his decease. Govea died in the year 1548; and Buchanan, in a short epitaph, gratefully commemorated the services which he had rendered to literature.

Alite non fausta genti dum rursus Iberæ
Restituis Musas, hic Goveane jaces.
Cura tui Musis fuerit si mutua, nulla
Incolet Elysium clarior umbra nemus.[f]

During the lifetime of this worthy man, Buchanan and his associates had found their situation at Coimbra sufficiently agreeable; but after they were deprived of his protection, the Portugueze began to persecute them with unrelenting bigotry. The harmless professors were at first assailed by the secret weapons of calumny, and in due time were loudly accused of imaginary crimes. Three of their number were thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition, and after having been subjected to a tedious imprisonment, were at length arraigned at the infernal tribunal. According to the usual practice, they were not confronted with their accusers; of whose very names they were ignorant. As they could not be convicted of any crime, they were overwhelm-

[f] Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 18.

ed with reproaches, and again committed to custody.

Buchanan had attracted an unusual degree of indignation. He was accused of having written an impious poem against the Franciscans; yet with the nature of that poem the inquisitors were totally unacquainted. The only copy which he had suffered to escape, was presented to his native sovereign; and before he ventured beyond the borders of France, he had even adopted the precaution of having the circumstances of its composition properly represented to the Portugueze monarch. He was also charged with the heinous crime of eating flesh in Lent; and yet with respect to that very article, not a single individual in Portugal deemed it necessary to practise abstinence. Some of his strictures relative to monks were registered against him; but they were such as monks only could regard as criminal. He was moreover accused of having alleged, in a conversation with some young Portugueze, that with respect to the eucharist, St. Augustin appeared to him to be strongly inclined towards the opinion condemned by the church of Rome. Two witnesses, whom he afterwards discovered to be Ferrerius and Talpin, made a formal deposition of their having been assured by several respectable informants, that Buchanan was disaffected to the Romish faith.[g]

[g] "Alii duo testes Joannes *Tolpinus* Normannus, et Joannes Ferrerius e Subalpina Liguria," &c. (*Buchanani Vita*, p. 6.) Read Talpinus.

After the inquisitors had harassed Buchanan and themselves for the space of nearly a year and a half, they confined him to a monastery, for the purpose of receiving edifying lessons from the monks; whom, with due discrimination, he represents as men by no means destitute of humanity, but totally unacquainted with religion. In their custody he continued several months; and it was about this period that he began his version of the psalms, afterwards brought to so happy a conclusion. That this translation was a penance imposed upon him by his illiterate guardians, is only to be considered as an idle tale.[h] It is much more probable that a large proportion of the good monks were incapable of reading the psalms in their native language. The rational and elevated mind of Buchanan had received

" Jean Talpin, Docteur et Chanoine Theologal à Perigueux l'an 1570," was a native of Constances in Normandy. He is the author of various works in the French language, enumerated by La Croix du Main, tom. i, p. 591, and by Du Verdier, tom. ii, p. 520. Ferrerius had formerly visited Scotland, where he resided in the monastery of Kinloss. In another work, I have mentioned several of his literary productions. *(Dissertation on the Literary History of Scotland*, p. 80.) The catalogue may however be augmented from Conrad Gesner's *Pandectæ sive Partitiones Universales*, f. 29, 65, 72. Tiguri, 1548, fol. That learned and useful writer enumerates " Joannis Ferrerii Pedemontani Bibliotheca Omnis Generis Scriptorum, nondum edita." Gesner mentions him with respect in his correspondence. *(Epistolæ Medicinales*, f. 124, b. Tiguri, 1577, 4to.) See also Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault*, p. 148.

h " Cum quæstores," says Buchanan, " prope sesquiannum et se et illum fatigassent, tandem, ne frustra hominem non ignotum vexasse crederentur, eum in monasterium ad aliquot menses recludunt, ut exactius eruditetur a monachis, hominibus quidem alioqui nec inhumanis nec malis, sed omnis religionis ignaris. Hoc maxime tempore psalmorum Davidi-

deep impressions of religion; and the gloom of a monastery, superadded to the persecution which he had so long sustained, would naturally tend to foster a spirit of devotion. His frequent recurrence to the hopes of another world, and his recollection of the solace which his favourite art had so often afforded him in this, may not unreasonably be supposed to have led him to the formation of a plan, which he has executed with piety equal to his genius. For the reputation which he acquired by this admirable production, he might therefore be indebted to "his good friends and benefactors the Portugueze;" to whom Dr. Mackenzie has, with unparalleled absurdity, accused him of flagrant ingratitude. This unintentional favour seems to have been the only benefaction which he received. Buchanan has certainly expressed no fervent gratitude for the infamous treatment which he had thus experienced from a people, not unacquainted with his literary talents: the cast of his mind was so pecu-

corum complures vario carminum genere in numeros redegit." (*Buchanani Vita*, p. 6.) Dr. Mackenzie's commentary on this passage is not unworthy of attention. "But here he gives us another specimen of his gratitude to his benefactors, for he says, that they were altogether ignorant and void of religion. Now how improbable this is, will appear from these monks having imposed upon him as a penance, that he should turn the psalms of David into Latin verse." (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii, p. 162.) But how will it appear that the monks imposed this penance? No such conclusion can be drawn from Buchanan's words; and Dr. Mackenzie had no other authority to produce. The same fiction was afterwards revived by Mr. Benson, and was easily exploded by his learned adversary. (Benson's *Comparison betwixt Johnston and Buchanan*, p. 3. Ruddiman's *Vindication of Buchanan*, p. 126.)

liar, that he entertained no affection for the dungeons of the Portugueze inquisition; an unmerited imprisonment of nearly two years presented him with no uncommon allurements; and the terrors of slow poison, or a more speedy and excruciating death, had no tendency to sooth his ungrateful fancy.

In that country, the direful tribunal of the inquisition was formally established in the year 1536. The second inquisitor general was the Infant Henry, afterwards king of Portugal; who retained the office from the year 1539 to the year 1579.[i] What part he bore in the persecution of our countryman, has not been recorded.

When Buchanan was at length restored to liberty, he solicited the king to furnish him with a sum of money, sufficient for defraying the charges of his meditated journey to France. He was however requested to protract his residence in Portugal; and was presented with a small supply, till he should be promoted to some station worthy of his talents. But his ambition of Portugueze preferment was not perhaps very violent; for he still remembered with regret the learned and interesting society of Paris. In a beautiful poem entitled *Desiderium Lutetiæ*,[k] and apparent-

[i] Ludovicus a Paramo de Origine et Progressu Officii Sanctæ Inquisitionis, ejusque Dignitate et Utilitate, p. 233. Matriti, 1598, fol.

[k] This poem has been imitated by the amiable and ingenious Dr. Blacklock. (*Poems*, p. 85, H. Mackenzie's edit.)

ly composed before his retreat from Portugal, he pathetically bewails his absence from that metropolis, which he represents under the allegory of a pastoral mistress.

O formosa Amarylli, tuo jam septima bruma
Me procul aspectu, jam septima detinet æstas:
Sed neque septima bruma nivalibus horrida nimbis,
Septima nec rapidis candens fervoribus æstas
Extinxit vigiles nostro sub pectore curas.
Tu mihi mane novo carmen, dum roscida tondet
Arva pecus, medio tu carmen solis in æstu,
Et cum jam longas præceps nox porrigit umbras:
Nec mihi quæ tenebris condit nox omnia vultus
Est potis occultare tuos: te nocte sub atra
Alloquor, amplector, falsaque in imagine somni
Gaudia sollicitam palpant evanida mentem.
At cum somnus abit, &c.[l]

Portugal certainly could not vie with France in letters and refinement; but it was not entirely destitute of individuals conspicuous for their original and acquired talents.[m] The literary history of Portugal is but little known to my countrymen; and as it is to a certain extent blended with the history of Buchanan, it evidently claims a share of our present attention.

Of the Portugueze who have cultivated verna-

[l] Buchanani Silvæ, iii.

[m] "Possum enim ostendere Lusitanos et philologos esse, et intra quinquaginta proximos hos annos non pauciores triginta floruisse, etiam scriptis editis, qui veteribus quum dictionis elegantia tum rerum gravitate, possint jure conferri. Possum mulieres quoque ostendere quæ cum omni vetustate certent eruditione."

RESENDII Opera, tom. ii, p. 281.

cular literature, Lobeira and Camoëns have obtained the most extensive celebrity among foreign nations. Vasco Lobeira, who flourished in the fourteenth century, is the author of *Amadis of Gaul*, one of the earliest, and certainly the most famous of all the romances of chivalry: Luis de Camoëns, who died in extreme poverty in the year 1579,[n] was a poet of no common talents; and, among other monuments of original genius, bequeathed to his ungrateful country an epic poem adorned with many of the flowers of genuine poetry. The compositions of these two writers have, with great felicity, been incorporated in our national literature: Lobeira's romance has been exhibited in an English dress by Mr. Southey; the Lusiad of Camoëns has been translated by Mr. Mickle, and a selection of his other poems by Lord Strangford.

Osorius informs us that the Latin tongue was much cultivated in Portugal, from the reign of Alphonzo the first[o] till that of Denys; and commemorates Alphonzo himself as the author of a Latin book, written with tolerable propriety.[p]

[n] Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana, tom. ii, p. 20. Romæ, 1672, 2 tom. fol.—This must not be confounded with another work of the same author, entitled *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*. Romæ, 1696, 2 tom. fol. These two volumes include the period from the reign of Augustus to the year 1500. Nicolaus Antonius, a very laborious and useful writer, was born at Seville in 1617, and died at Madrid in 1684.

[o] Don Alphonzo, count of Portugal, having in the year 1139 obtained a decisive victory over the Moors, was saluted king in the field of battle. (Mariana *De Rebus Hispaniæ*, tom. i, p. 441.)

[p] Osorius de Regis Institutione et Disciplina, f. 199, b. Olysippone, 1571, 4to.

Barbarism, he adds, afterwards ensued, and the purity of that language was miserably contaminated. King Denys died in the year 1325. Antonius de Macedo and other Portugueze writers have affirmed that it was he who founded the university of Coimbra;[q] but this is an assertion which cannot fail to excite considerable suspicion. That a respectable school was established there by King Denys, is sufficiently credible: but the original founder of the university was undoubtedly John the third; and it probably assumed its regular form about the year 1540.[r] The other Portugueze university, that of Evora, was also founded during the reign of King John;[s] whom his countrymen have, with one voice, extolled as a liberal patron of literature.

The great restorers of polite learning in Portugal and Spain were Arius Barbosa and Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis. Barbosa, a native of Aveiro in Portugal, after having studied in the university of Salamanca, betook himself to Florence for

[q] Antonii de Macedo Lusitania Infulata et Purpurata, p. 37. Paris. 1663, 4to.

[r] "Veni Conimbricam," says Nicolaus Clenardus; "nova hæc est inter Lusitanos academia, quam magno et plane regio animo rex noster molitur." (Clenardi *Epistolarum libri duo*, p. 25. Antverp. 1566, 8vo.) This extract is from an epistle written in the year 1539.

[s] The exact time of its foundation is not mentioned by any writer whom I have consulted; but it must apparently be placed between the year 1540 and the year 1549. Ludovicus Nonius refers it to the pontificate of Paul the third. (Nonii *Hispania*, p. 114. Antv. 1607, 8vo.) And the honour of the foundation is by Macedo and other writers imputed to Cardinal Henry. The cardinal was translated to the archbishopric of Evora in 1540; and the pope died in 1549.

the purpose of attending the prelections of Politian. He became a proficient in classical literature, and was the first who introduced the Greek language into modern Spain.[t] In the year 1495 he returned to Salamanca, where he taught for the space of twenty years. He was afterwards attracted to his native country to undertake the tuition of Don Alphonzo, the brother of King John. He has left several works in verse and in prose; and has often been commemorated as a man of talents. His learned friend Nebrissensis, who was born at Lebrixa in Spain in the year 1444, likewise prosecuted his studies at Salamanca and in Italy. He was successively a professor at Salamanca and Alcala; and was engaged by Cardinal Ximenez in the famous Alcala edition of the bible. His various erudition has been commemorated by Erasmus, and by other eminent scholars of that century[u]; but in the knowledge

[t] Gyraldus de Poetis suorum Temporum, p. 403.

[u] Erasmi Ciceronianus, p. 185. Christophorus Mylæus de Scribenda Universitatis Rerum Historia, p. 304. Basil. 1551, fol.—"Jacebant itaque bonæ literæ," says Sanctius in the dedication of his acute and learned treatise on the causes or principles of the Latin language, "quum abhinc annis centum Antonius Nebrissensis hos rebelles conatus est castigare. Sed adeo malum hoc radices egerat altas, ut innumeris monstris debellatis multo plura debellanda remanserint. Quod si ille iterum aut sæpius rediret, non dubito (quæ erat illius solertia) quin omnia facillime composuisset." (*Minerva, seu de Causis Linguæ Latinæ*. Salmanticæ, 1587, 8vo.) His eulogy occurs among those of Paulus Jovius. (*Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium*, p. 121, edit. Basil. 1577, fol.) See also Vossius *De Historicis Latinis*, p. 657, and Colomesii *Italia et Hispania Orientalis*, p. 223. Hamb. 1730, 4to. A catalogue of his works is exhibited by Antonius; who divides them into seven classes, namely grammatical, philological, poetical,

of the Greek language he was inferior to Barbosa.[x] He died in the year 1522.[y]

Lucius Andreas Resendius, who seems to have taught in the university of Coimbra, and at the same period with Buchanan,[z] was the earliest Portugueze author who investigated the antiquities of his native country with erudition and judgment.[a] He composed various works in verse as well as in prose; and, in the opinion of a learn-

historical, juridical, medical, and theological. One edition of his commentary on Persius bears the following inscription. "Ælii Antonii Nerissensis grammatici in A. Persium Flaccum poetam satyricum Interpretatio, cum quibusdam quæ a librariis depravata atque detorta fuerunt, per eundem recognita, et ad unguem emendata, ac noviter impressa, fœliciter incipitur." Compluti, 1517, 4to. With this edition Antonius seems to have been unacquainted.

[x] Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 471.

[y] Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana, tom. i, p. 105.

[z] Resendii Opera, tom. ii, p. 264. Col. Agrip. 1600, 2 tom. 8vo.

[a] Libri quatuor de Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ a Lucio Andrea Resendio olim inchoati, et a Jacobo Menœtio Vasconcello recogniti, atque absoluti. Eboræ, 1593, fol.—This work was reprinted at Rome in 1597; and, with other productions of the author, at Cologne in 1600. It also occurs in the collection entitled *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. ii, p. 892. This curious collection was published at Frankfort in four volumes folio; the first and second of which appeared in 1603, the third in 1606, and the fourth in 1608. The third volume was edited by Joannes Pistorius: for the rest we are indebted to Andreas Schottus. To the first edition of Resendius's antiquities Vasconcellus has prefixed an account of his life; which the subsequent editors have improperly omitted. Secundus, who has addressed three of his epigrams to Resendius, gives him the name of Lucius Angelus Andreas.

This antiquarian work of Resendius, when viewed as a restitution of decayed intelligence, is of considerable value. The author has very diligently resorted to one copious and genuine source of information, ancient inscriptions. From documents of this kind, he acquainted mythologists with a Pagan divinity which had entirely escaped their knowledge; and concerning which a German author of great erudition has

ed Belgian, is a poet worthy of being compared with the ancients.[b] Resendius, who was born at Evora in 1493, and died in 1573, prosecuted his studies at Alcala under Nebrissensis, and at Salamanca under his countryman Barbosa. The esteem and admiration which he has so frequently and so earnestly testified for Erasmus, may be recorded as a proof of his intelligence and liberality; for Erasmus's free spirit of disquisition was very far from recommending him to the majority of his ecclesiastical brethren. The following lines contain perhaps the highest compliment that has yet been paid to his genius and erudition.

Funus acerbum,
Funus, Erasme, tuum O utinam pensare daretur
Funere posse meo: vixes dignissime vita.
Hanc animam pro te potius crudelibus umbris,
Vilem, indefletam, ignotam, nullaque patenteis
Clade affecturam terras, Libitina tulisset.[c]

Michael Cabedius, an eminent lawyer who was born at Cetuval in 1525, and died at Lisbon in 1577, cultivated Latin poetry with a degree of success which at least secured him the applause of his countrymen. He translated the [d]*Plutus* of

composed an elaborate dissertation. (Reinesius *De Deo Endovellico.* Altenb. 1637, 4to.)

[b] Clenardi Epistolæ, p. 244.—He is also mentioned with approbation by Bembus, in an epistle addressed to Damian de Goes. (Bembi *Epistolæ Familiares*, lib. vi, p. 741.

[c] Resendii Opera, tom. ii, p. 51.

[d] Parisiis, apud Michaelem Vascosanum, 1547, 8vo.

Aristophanes, and composed some original poems, with considerable felicity. Vasconcellus, in his hendecasyllables written in celebration of Lisbon, introduces the name of Cabedius with very honourable mention.

Haud nostræ genius valet Thaliæ
Tantæ pondera sustinere molis.
Id præstare tibi mei Cabedi
Felix Musa potest, parem vetustis
Quem Cetobrica protulit poetis,
Felices ubi Jaspidum colonos
Piscosi sinus alluit profundi.
Huic altam tribuit Minerva mentem:
Dulci pectora condiens lepore,
Excultum eloquium dedere Musæ,
Miscentes Latiis sales Pelasgos:
Phœbus plectra dedit, quibus Maronem
Donarat, Colophoniumque vatem.
Hausit Cæsarei fluenta juris
Puris fontibus, omniumque nodos
Legum solvere, vel Papiniano
Novit rectius elegantiusque.[c]

The family of Govea, so intimately connected with Buchanan, was remarkable for its talents and literature. James Govea was principal of the

[c] Jacobus Menœtius Vasconcellus was related to Michael, as well as to Antonius Cabedius; and the Latin poems of these three authors have, with sufficient propriety, been associated in one volume. They are appended to the second edition of Resendius *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ*. Romæ, 1597, 8vo.—Vasconcellus has written an account of his own life; which accompanies both this and the former edition. To that work of Resendius he has added a fifth book, "De Antiquitate Municipii Eborensis." His *Vita Michaelis Cabedii Senatoris Regii* occurs among the *Opuscula* appended to the Roman edition of the antiquities.

College of St. Barbe at Paris;[f] where he superintended the studies of three promising nephews, who were educated at the charge of the Portugueze monarch, King John. They were natives of Beja. Martial, the eldest of these learned brothers, published a Latin grammar at Paris in the year 1534; and likewise composed various poems, which are not however known to have been printed. Andrew, who belonged to the ecclesiastical order, and who, according to Beza, was a doctor of the Sorbonne, taught grammar, and afterwards philosophy, in the college over which his uncle presided. He at length obtained the principality himself: Andrew Govea, principal of St. Barbe, was chosen rector of the university of Paris on the twenty-third of June 1533.[g] In the course of the following year, he was invited to Bourdeaux,[h] where he governed the College of Guienne with great moderation and address.[i] He died at Coim-

[f] Bulæus affirms that there were two Goveas of this name; and that they stood in the relation of uncle and nephew. (*Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis*, tom. vi, p. 942.) The elder, as he informs us, resigned the principality in favour of the younger: but as James Govea is known to have resigned in favour of Andrew, it is not improbable that Bulæus, notwithstanding his opportunities of accurate information, may here have fallen into a slight error.

[g] Bulæi Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. vi, p. 977.

[h] De Lurbe, Chronique Bourdeloise, f. 42.

[i] Montagne has characterized him as "le plus grand principal de France." (*Essais*, liv. i, chap. xxv.) "Ab avunculo," says Vasconcellus, "Burdigalam missi sumus, ad capiendum ingenii cultum, in celebri gymnasio quod ibi eo tempore florebat sub moderamine Andreæ Goveani Lusitani, ex Pace Julia oriundi, viri gravissimi." (*Vita Jacobi Menæsii Vasconcelli, ab ipso conscripta*, p. 3.) "Vir de universa Aquitania et literis, ut

bra on the ninth of June 1548, after having reached the age of about fifty. His friend Vinetus, in an epistle to Andreas Schottus, has commemorated him as a man of liberal sentiments, and as an encourager of learning.[k] He does not however belong to the list of authors.

Anthony Govea was the youngest and the most renowned of these brothers. While he prosecuted his studies in the College of St. Barbe, he made very unusual progress in ancient literature and philosophy; and at Avignon and Toulouse, he afterwards applied to the study of jurisprudence with the same assiduity and success. He studied at Toulouse about the year 1539; but before that period he had taught humanity in the College of Guienne. In 1542 he was a regent in some Parisian college under his uncle: and in the course of the ensuing year, he was engaged in a dispute with Ramus[l] which occasioned prodigious combustion in that university. Ramus, it is well known, had laudably undertaken to impugn the philosophy of Aristotle; and Govea, notwithstanding his youth, was the first who entered the lists against him. He was seconded by Perionius, and other strenuous advocates of old opinions; and the contest at length rose to such a height

si quis alius, optime meritus, homo pius, doctus, et ad regendam juventutem omnino natus." (Schotti *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, p. 617.)

[k] Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 475.

[l] A biographical account of Ramus, who certainly was no ordinary character, was published by Nicolaus Nancelius, one of the regents of his college. (*Vita Petri Rami.* Paris. 1599, 8vo.)

that it was determined by a royal mandate.[m] Govea afterwards returned to the College of Guienne, where he was left by the colony which departed for Coimbra. He successively taught jurisprudence at Toulouse Cahors, Valence, and Grenoble,[n] to crowded auditories; but when France began to be annoyed with the tumults of a civil war, he retired into Italy, and found an honourable asylum at the court of Savoy. From the duke he is said to have obtained the offices of counsellor, and master of the requests. He died at Turin at the age of about sixty. Manfred, one of his sons, was also a man of learning: he published several works, among which are Latin poems, and annotations on the writings of [o]Julius Clarus[p]. Anthony Govea, according to

[m] Launoi de Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Academia Parisiensi, p. 59. Werenfelsii Dissertatio de Logomachiis Eruditorum, p. 58, edit. Amst. 1702, 8vo.

[n] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii, p. 467.—Bayle's criticisms on this part of Thuanus's narrative are misapplied. (*Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, art. Govea. He supposes the historian to affirm, in the following passage, that Govea was invited by Ferretus to teach jurisprudence at Avignon. "Ab Æmilio Ferreto, qui Avenione jus civile docebat, cum Lugduni privatis studiis intentus desideret, ad illius perplexæ scientiæ professionem evocatus est; in qua rursus exiguo tempore tantos progressus fecit." The purport of these words evidently is, that Ferretus induced Govea to betake himself to the study of law; for he certainly had not the power of inviting him to an academical chair. Thuanus expressly affirms that Govea first taught jurisprudence at Toulouse. Julius Scaliger, in an epigram *Ad Goveanum*, apparently alludes to his having delivered prelections in that city; a part of his history which Bayle is inclined to represent as erroneous. (Scaligeri *Poemata*, tom. i, p. 173.)

[o] Pancirolus de Claris Legum Interpretibus, p. 296.

[p] Ghilini Teatro d'Huomini Letterati, vol. ii, p. 189.

Thuanus, was the only man of that age who, by the common consent of the learned, was considered as a very elegant poet, a great philosopher, and a most able civilian.[q] The purity of his Latin ſtyle is highly commended by the same admirable hiſtorian. Besides his juridical writings and his answer to Ramus, he published Latin poems, editions of Virgil,[r] Terence,[s] and some of the works of Cicero, and a Latin translation of Porphyry's introduction to Aristotle's logic. Joseph Scaliger represents him as an excellent French poet.[t] But his chief praise is that of having been deemed the most formidable rival of Cujacius. He is highly extolled by Gravina, the most elegant civilian of the last century;[u] and Cujacius himself had awarded him

[q] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii, p. 468.

[r] H. Stephanus in the dedication of his Virgil has discussed the merits of Govea's edition with his usual freedom.

[s] See Wassii Senarius, sive de Legibus et Licentia Veterum Poetarum, p. 243. Oxon. 1687, 4to.

[t] "Goveanus doctus erat vir, et valens dialecticus, optimus poeta Gallicus: nec enim Hispanum judicaveris, adeo bene Gallice loquebatur." (*Prima Scaligerana*, p. 86.) He is likewise mentioned with great respect in Scaliger's *Castigationes in Festum*, p. li. In Sanderus's catalogue of "famous Anthonies," the name of Govea has not been omitted; but the notices of this writer are slight and unsatisfactory. (Sanderus *De Claris Antoniis*, p. 184. Lovanii, 1627, 4to.)

[u] "Ingenium habuit varium et velox, ut rerum ab eo tum in philosophia, tum in humanioribus literis, tum in jure civili agitatarum finem ante initium animadverteres. Neque ullum fuit involucrum, unde non se celeriter ac feliciter expediret."

GRAVINÆ Origines Juris Civilis, p. 127.

the superiority over all the interpreters of the Justinian law in ancient or modern times.

Govea was the intimate friend of Buchanan; who has recorded his attachment in immortal verse. Muretus thus addresses him in one of his epigrams:

Summe poetarum quos secula nostra tulerunt,
Cui sacra Castalii fluminis unda subest,
Accipe non tetrica juvenilia carmina fronte,
A domino limam jussa subire tuam,
Ut tibi si (quod vix ausim sperare) probentur,
Olim se lucem posse videre putent:
Sin minus, æterna damnentur, ut omnia, nocte,
Aspectu tanti facta beata viri.[x]

Jacobus Tevius, the friend of Buchanan and Govea, was a native of Braga. Having completed his studies in the university of Paris,[y] he obtained a regency at Bourdeaux; where, as we have already seen, he was associated with Buchanan. After his removal to Coimbra, he composed a historical work,[z] which has been highly

[x] Mureti Opera, tom. i, p. 693, edit. Ruhnkenii.

[y] Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 479.

[z] Commentarius de Rebus a Lusitanis in India apud Dium Gestis, anno salutis nostræ M.D.XLVI. Jacobo Tevio Lusitano Autore.—The dedication to King John is dated Coimbra, March the first 1548. This work of Tevius occurs in the collection entitled *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. ii, p. 1347. Dempster has absurdly affirmed that its real author was Buchanan. (*Hist. Eclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 110.) Antonius, who has probably confounded him with some other writer, mentions Tevius by the name of Didacus, or Diego. In the epistle prefixed to the second edition of Beza's poems, he is erroneously called Joannes Tevius.

commended for the elegance of its Latinity.[a] Schottus informs us that he also published some orations, as well as some Portugueze and Latin poems. It was his intention to compose a general history of his native country; but this plan he did not live to execute.

Buchanan has repeatedly testified his affection for this associate of his learned labours. When Tevius published his historical commentary, Buchanan furnished him with a very happy address to King John;[b] which is prefixed to the various editions of that work. In his elegy to Tastæus and Tevius, he addresses him with all the warmth of friendship:

O animæ, Ptolemæe, meæ pars altera, tuque
Altera pars animæ, Tevi Jacobe, meæ.[c]

In a little poem inscribed to Anthony Govea, he has strongly indicated his regard for each of these Portugueze scholars.

Si quicquam, Goveane, fas mihi esset
Invidere tibive, Teviove,
Et te nostro ego Tevio inviderem,
Et nostrum tibi Tevium inviderem.
Sed cum me nihil invidere sit fas
Vel tibi, Goveane, Teviove,
Si fas est quod amor dolorque cogit,
Vobis imprecor usque et imprecabor,
Uterque ut mihi sed cito rependat

[a] Vasæi Rerum Hispanicarum Chronicon, cap. iv.
[b] Buchanani Opera, tom. ii, p. 102.
[c] Buchanani Elegiarum liber, iv.

Hoc parvum ob facinus malumque pœnas :
Te mi Tevius invidere possit,
Tu possis mihi Tevium invidere.
Ambobus mihi si frui licebit,
Cœlum Diis ego non suum invidebo,
Sed sortem mihi Dii meam invidebunt.[d]

Hieronymus Osorius, bishop of Sylves, has likewise illustrated a portion of the Portugueze history with more than common elegance.[e] He was born at Lisbon in 1506, and died at Tavilla in 1580. At the request of King John, he had taught theology in the newly-founded university of Coimbra. As a Ciceronian, he stands unrivalled among his countrymen; and in the judgment of Metamorus, may even contend with Longolius, or any other imitator of the Roman orator.[f] Ascham was also of opinion that, since the days of Cicero, no author had written with greater purity and eloquence;[g] but Lord Bacon, who was however a less competent judge of style, has characterized his vein of composition by the epithet *watery*.[h] The most celebrated of his productions seem to be his five books *De Gloria*. This treatise bears the form of a dialogue; and one of the interlocutors is his very learned friend Antonius Augustinus, arch-

d Buchanani Hendecasyllabon liber, v.

e Osorii de Rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ Invictissimi Virtute et Auspicio Gestis libri duodecim. Olysippone, 1571, fol.

f Metamorus de Academiis et Doctis Viris Hispaniæ, p. 815.

g Aschami Epistolæ, p. 268.

h Bacon of the Advancement of Learning, p. 86.

bishop of Tarragona, in whom Spain deservedly glories as a philologer and civilian of the first order.[i] Osorius attracted the particular attention of English scholars by his epistle to Queen Elizabeth, and his subsequent altercation with Haddon.[k] This was certainly no despicable antagonist; though Osorius and his zealous friend Manuel d'Almada[l] have treated him with the utmost contempt. His work *De Justitia* Osorius inscribed to Cardinal Pole; who was himself distinguished for the elegance of his Latinity.

Gyraldus has enumerated several of the Portugueze who had cultivated Latin poetry; but to Didacus Pyrrhus,[m] who is one of the interlocutors in his second dialogue, he assigns the superiority over all the rest.[n] Hermicus Caiadus,[o]

[i] His edition of Varro *De Linguâ Latina* Fabricius and other writers have referred to the year 1557. A copy in my possession bears *Romæ apud Vincentium Luchinum*, 1554. 8vo.

[k] Osorii in Gualterum Haddonum libri tres. Olysippone, 1567, 4to.

[l] Epistola Emmanuelis Dalmada, Episcopi Angrensis, adversus Epistolam Gualteri Haddoni contra Osorii Epistolam, nuper editam. Antverp. 1566, 4to.—Haddon's epistle to Osorius, which was published in 1563, occurs in the collection of his *Lucubrationes*, p. 210. Lond. 1567, 4to. He afterwards renewed the controversy.

[m] Six epitaphs written by Pyrrhus in Greek and Latin, occur in the first volume of Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus.

[n] Gyraldus de Poetis suorum Temporum, p. 404.

[o] "Lusitanos aliquot eruditos novi, qui vulgarint ingenii sui specimen: neminem novi, præter Hermicum quendam, in epigrammatibus felicem, in oratione soluta promptum ac facilem, ad argutandum dexterrimæ dicacitatis; et Genesium, qui nuper edito Romæ libello, præclaram de se spem præbuit."

ERASMI Ciceronianus, p. 186.

Georgius Cœlius,[p] and Michael Sylvius,[q] flourished during the earlier part of the sixteenth century; and their poetical attempts were not altogether slighted by the fastidious scholars of Italy. Ignatius Moralis, Ludovicus Crucius, and Manuel Pimenta, who succeeded them, were likewise poets of a temporary reputation. Crucius executed a paraphrase of the psalms;[r] and in the preface, he has treated his predecessor Buchanan with abundant acrimony. This is only what might have been expected from a Portugueze Jesuit; but his own compositions are nearly consigned to irremediable oblivion, while those of Buchanan continue to resist the overwhelming stream of time. Achilles Statius and Thomas Correa likewise aspired to distinction as writers of Latin verse, but they were more conspicuous for their merit as philologers: the former, in particular, is entitled to a station among the most learned of his countrymen.

Besides Anthony Govea, Portugal produced several other civilians.[s] The name of Amatus Lu-

[p] Sadoleti Epistolæ, p. 612. Bembi Epistolæ Familiares, lib. vi, p. 730. Clenardi Epistolæ, p. 244.

[q] This poet was the son of Diego da Silva, count of Portalegre; and having been educated for the church, he rose to the dignity of a cardinal. (A. de Macedo *Lusitania Infulata et Purpurata*, p. 242.) He died at Rome in the year 1556.

[r] Spain, though Latin poetry was not much cultivated in that country, likewise produced a complete paraphrase of the psalms. It was executed by the famous Benedictus Arias Montanus. Antverp. 1574, 4to.

[s] Duck de Authoritate Juris Civilis, p. 318.

sitanus is inserted in the catalogue of illustrious physicians;[t] and Hector Pintus who was a professor at Coimbra, is represented as a learned and eloquent divine.[u] But the most famous of the Portugueze theologians was Franciscus Forerius, who had distinguished himself in the council of Trent, and who presided over the Dominican monastery of Almada Hill.[x] Manuel Alvarez, an acute and learned Jesuit born in the island of Madeira, is regarded as one of the ablest grammarians of modern times.[y] Petrus Nonius, a native of Alcazar do Sal, and a professor in the university of Coimbra, is denominated by Osorius the prince of mathematicians;[z] and the learned of various nations have assigned him a conspicuous station among the cultivators of science.

Such was the general state of learning among the Portugueze during the century which produced George Buchanan. In science and in literature, that nation had evidently made no inconsiderable advances; and its progress had only been retarded by the despotism of the state, and by the more intolerable despotism of the church.

[t] Castellani Vitæ Illustrium Medicorum, p. 245. Antv. 1617, 8vo.—Gesner however represents him as "homo temerarius et indoctus." (*Epistolæ Medicinales*, f. 105.)

[u] Schotti Bibliotheca Hispanica, p. 524.

[x] Colomesii Italia et Hispania Orientalis, p. 238.

[y] Walchii Hist. Crit. Linguæ Latinæ, p. 193. Lipsiæ, 1716, 8vo.

[z] Osorius de Rebus Gestis Emmanuelis, p. 424.

But to a country which fostered Jesuits and the inquisition, the generous frame of Buchanan's mind was ill adapted. From a passage in his allegorical poem entitled *Desiderium Lutetiæ*, it may be conjectured that after his release from the monastery, the universities of Coimbra and Evora were equally ambitious of retaining him as a member.

Et me tympana docta ciere canora Lycisca,
Et me blanda Melænis amavit, Iberides ambæ,
Ambæ florentes annis, opibusque superbæ:
Et mihi dotales centum cum matribus agnos
Ipsi pomisere patres, mihi munera matres
Spondebant clam multa: meum nec munera pectus,
Nec nivei movere suis cum matribus agni,
Nec quas blanditias teneræ dixere puellæ,
Nec quas delicias teneræ fecere puellæ.
Quantum ver hyemem, vietum puer integer ævi,
Ter viduam thalamis virgo matura parentem,
Quam superat Durium Rhodanus, quam Sequana Mundam,
Lenis Arar Sycorim, Ligeris formosus Iberum,
Francigenas inter Ligeris pulcherrimus amnes;
Tantum omnes vincit nymphas Amaryllis Iberas.

By these two nymphs, we are apparently to understand Coimbra and Evora; as under the per-

[a] Buchanani Silvæ, iii.—These rivers, *Durius*, *Munda*, *Sycoris*, and *Iberus*, are the Douro, Mondego, Segre, and Ebro. Coimbra is situated on the banks of Mondego; and the "Muses of Mondego's bowers" are not altogether unknown to the classical scholar.

Et per quas pulchro sinuosus flumine Munda
Transit, ubi virides excelsa Conimbrica campos
Despicit, Aoniis sedes gratissima Musis
VASCONCELLUS de suo ex Ebora Discessu.

son of Amaryllis he exhibits an adumbration of his beloved Paris. If the poet had intended his allusion for the Portugueze metropolis, he would not have omitted to mention the *Tagus aurifer*, or golden Tajo.

Buchanan found that his prospect of being promoted by the Portugueze monarch was somewhat precarious; and he therefore determined to abandon a country in which he had experienced such unworthy treatment. Having embarked in a Candian vessel which he found in the port of Lisbon, he was safely conveyed to England. Here however he did not long remain, though he might have procured some creditable situation, which he himself has not particularized. The political affairs of that nation bore a very unpromising aspect; and he was therefore more anxious to visit the accomplished associates whom he had left in France. In France he arrived about the beginning of the year 1553. The siege of Metz was raised about the same period; and at the earnest request of his friends, he composed a poem on that event.[b] This was a task which he undertook with considerable reluctance: several other poets, most of whom were of his acquaintance, had already exercised their talents upon the same occasion; and he was unwilling to enter into a competition. On this subject his friend

[b] Buchanani Miscellaneorum liber, viii. *Ad Henricum II. Francia Regem de soluta urbis Mediomatricum Obsidione.*

Melin de St. Gelais had written a poem, which he commends as erudite and elegant.[c] St. Gelais was once a favourite poet at the French court;[d] and Buchanan has celebrated him in verse as well as in prose.

Mellinum patrio sale carmina tingere jussit,
Parceret ut famæ Musa, Catulle, tuæ.[e]

To the French nation Buchanan appears to have been strongly attached; and, in return, they were proud in regarding him as their countryman by adoption.[f] His sentiments on thus revisiting France, he has warmly expressed in a poem composed on the occasion. It is entitled *Adventus in Galliam.*

Jejuna miseræ tesqua Lusitaniæ,
Glebæque tantum fertiles penuriæ,
Valete longum. At tu beata Gallia
Salve, bonarum blanda nutrix artium,
Cœlo salubri, fertili frugum solo,
Umbrosa colles pampini molli coma,
Pecorosa saltus, rigua valles fontibus,

[c] Buchanani Vita, p. 7.

[d] Melin de St. Gelais, says Pasquier, " produisoit de petites fleurs, et non fruicts d'aucune durée, c'estoient des mignardises qui couroient de fois à autres par les mains des courtisans et dames de cour, qui luy estoit une grande prudence. Parce qu' apres sa mort, on fit imprimer un recueil de ses œuvres, qui mourut presque aussi tost qu'il vist le jour." *(Recherches de la France*, p. 613.) His life occurs in Niceron, tom. v, p. 197.

[e] Buchanani Epigrammatum lib. i, 57.

[f] " In Levinia Scotiæ provincia ad Blanum amnem natus, sed adoptione nostras; qualis Antonius Goveanus Lusitanus, summus et ipse Buchanani amicus, dici et existimari volebat."

THUANI Hist. sui Temporis, tom. iv, p. 99.

Prati virentis picta campos floribus,
Velifera longis amnium decursibus,
Piscosa stagnis, rivulis, lacubus, mari;
Et hinc et illinc portuoso littore
Orbem receptans hospitem, atque orbi tuas
Opes vicissim non avara impertiens;
Amœna villis, tuta muris, turribus
Superba, tectis lauta, cultu splendida,
Victu modesta, moribus non aspera,
Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium
Communis, animi fida, pace florida,
Jucunda, facilis, Marte terrifico minax,
Invicta, rebus non secundis insolens,
Nec sorte dubia fracta, cultrix numinis
Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener:
Nescit calores lenis æstas torridos,
Frangit rigores bruma flammis asperos,
Non pestilentis pallet Austri spiritu
Autumnus æquis temperatus flatibus,
Non ver solutis amnium repagulis
Inundat agros, et labores eluit.
Ni patrio te amore diligam, et colam
Dum vivo, rursus non recuso visere
Jejuna miseræ tesqua Lusitaniæ,
Glebasque tantum fertiles penuriæ.[g]

Of Buchanan's attainments the French were more competent judges than the Portugueze. Before the reign of Francis the first, science and literature had indeed begun to revive; but under the generous protection of that accomplished monarch, their progress was rapid and brilliant.[h]

g Buchanani Fratres Fraterrimi, xxviii.

h "Nam ut hujus optimi post homines natos principis cætera decora, majore concipienda fortassis ore, et nuper concepta, omittam, et de literis

Buchanan's talents were not long permitted to remain inactive. Soon after his return to Paris, he was appointed a regent in the College of Boncourt ;[i] and in the year 1555, he was called from that charge by the celebrated Comte de Brissac, who entertained him as the domestic tutor of his son Timoleon de Cossé. To that warlike nobleman he addressed a very poetical ode after the capture of Vercelli,[k] an event which occurred in the month of September 1553 ; and on the twenty-eighth of July 1554, he dedicated to him the tragedy of *Jephthes*. Of the value of such tributes the count was not insensible : in the dedication, Buchanan acknowledged himself already

potissimum agam, quæ meæ partes sunt, nullus unquam ex omni memoria omnium ætatum et temporum benignius et prolixius eas muneratus est. Nemo majora præmia constituit doctrinæ et eruditioni, nemo uberiora : nemo juventutis studia ad discendum acrius inflammavit : cum æstimatione doctrinæ, non census amplitudine, homines pendere soleret, doctis sacerdotia mandaret, honores deferret, ad res gerendas adhiberet, beneficiis augeret, omni liberalitatis genere complecteretur."

TURNEBI Oratio habita post J. Tusani Mortem, p. 29.

i His regency in this college, as well as in that of Cardinal le Moine, Buchanan has himself neglected to mention. That he taught in the College of Boncourt is evident from a passage in a letter addressed to him by Nicolaus Nancelius. " Specimen frequens et nobile jam tum edidisti, cum inde ab annis circiter triginta, tu Lutetiæ in Becodiano profitereris, ego eodem tempore in *prælio* [lege *Prælleo*] (ubi regii tum juvenes Stuarti vestrates discebant) sub Ramo antesignano, longe ea ætate eloquentissimo et disertissimo Romuli nepotum, militarem doceremque." (Buchanani *Epistolæ*, p. 35.) The date of this epistle is March the fifteenth 1583 ; for Nancelius had not then heard of Buchanan's death. He returned to France in 1553, precisely thirty years antecedent to that date.

k Buchanani Miscell. xxiii. *Ad Carolum Cossæum Brixiaci Dynastam, post captas Vercellas.*

indebted to his politeness and to his liberality ;[l] and their closer connexion ensued in the course of the subsequent year. At that period the marshal presided over the French dominions in Italy; whither Buchanan was invited to attend his hopeful pupil.[m]

Marshal de Brissac lived in a state of princely magnificence. Though much of his life had been spent amidst the tumults of war, he appears to have been a man of a liberal mind, and to have cultivated an acquaintance with eminent scholars. During his campaigns, he was accompanied by men of learning ;[n] and the society which he now enjoyed with Buchanan, must have been productive of mutual satisfaction. In the preceptor of his son, he recognized a man capable of adorning a higher station ; and he accordingly

[l] " Me autem absentem," says Buchanan, " nec ulla alia re quam literarum commendatione tibi cognitum, ita complexus es omnibus humanitatis et liberalitatis officiis, ut si quis ingenii mei sit fructus, si qua vigiliarum velut fœtura, ea merito ad te redire debeat."—One of his odes is entitled *De Amore Cossæi et Aretes (Miscell.* iii.); and he has also written the epitaph of his illustrious friend. (*Epigram.* lib. ii, 25.)

[m] " Inde evocatus in Italiam a Carolo Cossæo Brixiacensi, qui tum secunda fama res in Ligustico et Gallico circa Padum agro gerebat, nunc in Italia, nunc in Gallia, cum filio ejus Timoleonte quinquennium hæsit, usque ad annum millesimum quingentesimum sexagesimum." *(Buchanani Vitæ*, p. 7.. Mr. Ruddiman is apparently mistaken in referring his new engagement to the year 1554. Buchanan's connexion with Brissac continued five years, and terminated in 1560: but between 1554 and 1560, the space of five complete years intervenes. His dedication is dated at Paris on the twenty-eighth of July 1554, and contains no allusion to any domestic connexion with the count.

[n] Buchanani Præf. in Jephthen.

treated him with the utmost respect and deference. He was even accustomed to place him at the council board among the principal officers of his army. To this singular honour Buchanan was not entitled from his actual acquaintance with the theory or practice of war: he had recommended himself by the intuitive sagacity of his comprehensive mind; and his original admission arose from a circumstance entirely accidental. He happened to enter an apartment contiguous to the hall in which the marshal and his officers were engaged in discussing some measure of great importance; and on being arrested by their debates, he could not refrain from murmuring his disapprobation of the opinion supported by the majority. One of the generals smiled at so unexpected a salutation; but the marshal having invited Buchanan into the council, enjoined him to deliver his sentiments without restraint. He accordingly proceeded to discuss the question with his wonted perspicacity, and to excite the amazement of Brissac and his officers. In the issue, his suggestions were found to have been oracular.°

° H. Stephani Orationes II, p. 163. Franc. 1594, 8vo.—Menage has related an anecdote of another complexion. "Bucanan avoit été precepteur *des enfans* de M. de Brissac. Comme il étoit un jour à sa table, il lui arriva dans le temps qu'il mangeoit du potage bien chaud, de laisser aller un vent qui fit du bruit: mais sans s'étonner, il dit à ce vent qui étoit sorti comme malgré lui; Tu as bien fait de sortir, car j'allois te brûler tout vif. Puisque la conversation est sur ce sujet, je diray encore ce qui

Buchanan's pupil neither discredited his father nor his preceptor: he was afterwards distinguished for his bravery, and for his acquaintance with military science; and his literary attainments were such as reflected honour on a young nobleman, destined for the profession of arms.[p] His career was short and brilliant; at the age of twenty-six, it was terminated by a musket-ball at the siege of Mucidan.[q] When committed to Buchanan's tuition, he was about twelve years of age. As he was intended for a military life, his attention was directed to other objects as well as to literature; and his preceptor, in the mean time, found sufficient leisure for his favourite pursuits. Many of his hours were devoted to the study of theology. At that æra, religious controversy exercised the faculties of a large proportion of mankind; and he was likewise anxious to place his faith on the solid foundation of reason. His poetical studies were not however entirely neglected. It was apparently about this period that he conceived the design of his philo-

j'ay sçu de M. de Racan. Le Cardinal du Perron jouant aux échets avec Henry IV. dans le temps qu'il plaçoit un cavalier, il lui arriva la même chose qu' à Bucanan en mangeant sa soup. Le cardinal pour couvrir cette liberté, dit; Au moins, Sire, il n'est pas parti sans trompette. M. de Racan m'a assuré qu'il avoit entendu l'un et l'autre. Ces sortes d'inconveniens peuvent arriver à tout le monde dans les meilleurs compagnies, et l'on ne devroit pas s'en offenser." (*Menagiana*, tom. ii, p. 133.)

[p] Brantome, Vies des Hommes Illustres et Grands Capitaines François de son temps, tom. iii, p. 409.

[q] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii, p. 707.

sophical poem *De Sphæra;* which his future avocations did not suffer him to draw to a conclusion. It is addressed to his interesting pupil.

Tu mihi, Timoleon, magni spes maxima patris,
Nec patriæ minor, Aonii novus incola montis,
Adde gradum comes, et teneris assuesce sub annis
Castalidum nemora et sacros accedere fontes,
Nympharumque choros, populoque ignota profano
Otia, nec damno nec avaræ obnoxia curæ.
Tempus erit, cum tu, veniat modo robur ab annis,
Spumantes versabis equos in pulvere belli
Torvus, et in patriam assurges non degener hastam.
Interea genitor Ligurum sine fulminet arces,
Germanosque feros et amantes Martis Iberos
Consiliis armisque premet, Francisque tropæis
Littora Phœbæas decoret testantia flammas.[r]

During the five years of his connexion with this illustrious family, Buchanan alternately resided in Italy and France. In the mean time, several of his poetical works were published at Paris. In 1556 appeared the earliest specimen of his poetical paraphrase of the psalms;[s] and his version of the *Alcestis* of Euripides was printed in the course of the subsequent year. This tragedy he dedicated to Margaret, the daughter of Francis the first; a munificent princess, whose favour he seems to have enjoyed.[t] Nor was it

[r] Buchananus de Sphæra, p. 114.

[s] Ruddiman's Vindication of Buchanan, p. 129.

[t] "Quod si audacius," says Buchanan, "a me factum videatur, eam tu potissimum culpam præstes oportet; quæ me tua auctoritate ad scri-

improper to submit a Latin drama to her inspection; for with the principal writers of that language she had contracted a familiar acquaintance.[u] Brantome has extolled her as a prodigy of virtue and wisdom.[x] In the fortunes of accomplished scholars, she interested herself with a generous warmth; and it was to her friendly zeal that the excellent De l'Hospital was indebted for his elevation. To this princess, who was at length married to the duke of Savoy, many of the chancellor's poems are addressed; and she is likewise celebrated by Salmonius Macrinus, and by various other authors of eminence. Buchanan's ode on the surrender of Calais was published in the year 1558. The same subject exercised the talents of De l'Hospital, Turnebus, and many other poets.

His connexion with the count terminated in the year 1560, when the flames of civil war had already seized the deluded nation. It was perhaps the alarming state of France that induced Buchanan to hasten his return to his native country. The precise period of his return has not been ascertained: but it is certain that he was at the Scotish court in January 1562; and that, in the month of April, he was officiating as classical

bendum impulisti, et in arenam productum omni favoris genere prosequeris et foves."

[u] Hospitalii Epistolæ, p. 24. Gallandii Vita Castellani, p. 43.

[x] Brantome, Vies des Dames Illustres de France de son temps, p. 328.

tutor to the queen, who was then in the twentieth year of her age. Every afternoon she perused with Buchanan a portion of Livy.[y] This author is not commonly recommended to very young scholars; and indeed the study of the Latin language is known to have occupied a considerable share of her previous attention. She had been sent to France in the sixth year of her age, and had acquired every accomplishment that could adorn her station. The charms of her person were so conspicuous as to place her above the most elegant of her fair cotemporaries;[z] and the polish of her mind corresponded to the native elegance of her external form. She was acquainted not only with the Scotish and French, but also with the Italian and Spanish languages; and her knowledge of the Latin tongue was such

[y] In a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated at Edinburgh on the thirtieth of January 1561-2, the following passage occurs. "Ther is with the quene one called Mr. George Bowhanan, a Scottishe man, verie well lerned, that was schollemaster unto Monsr de Brisack's sone, very godlye and honest." On the seventh of April, Randolph wrote thus from St. Andrews to the same statesman: "The queen readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man Mr. George Bowhannan, somewhat of Lyvie." (Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 319, 320.)

[z] "Fœmina," says Julius Cæsar Bulenger, "omnium sui sæculi corporis dignitate maxime conspicua, humanitate, prudentia, liberalitate, eximia, sed variis miseriis toto vitæ tempore exercita." (*Hist. sui Temporis*, p. 252. Lugd. 1619, fol.) On the tragical story of this accomplished and ill-fated princess, a Spanish author famous for his prolific vein has composed a poem in five books. See Lord Holland's elegant and animated *Account of the Life and Writings of Lope de Vega*, p. 87. Lond. 1806, 8vo.

as modern ladies have not very often surpassed.[a] In the fourteenth year of her age, she pronounced before a splendid auditory of the French court, a Latin declamation against the opinion of those who would debar the female sex from the liberal pursuits of science and literature. This oration, which she had herself composed, she afterwards translated into French; but neither the original nor the version has ever been published.[b] Some of her Italian and French verses are however preserved.[c] Mary was un-

[a] "In optimis quibusque Europæ linguis perdiscendis," says George Con, "plurimum studii locabat; tanta autem erat suavitas sermonis Gallici, ut in eo facunda doctissimorum judicio haberetur, nec Hispanicum aut Italicum negl'exit. quibus ad usum magis quam ad ostentationem, aut volubilitatem, utebatur; Latinum intelligebat melius quam efferebat; ad poetices leporem plus a natura quam ab arte habuit." (*Vita Mariæ Stuartæ*, p. 15, apud Jebb.)

[b] La Croix du Maine, Bibliotheque Françoise, tom. ii, p. 90. Brantome, Vies des Dames Illustres de France, p. 114.

[c] Most of them are collected by Mr. Laing. (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 217.) Two of her French poems, which have escaped the notice of the learned historian, occur in a work of Bishop Lesley. (*Piæ Afflicti Animi Consolationes*, f. 38, b. Paris. 1574, 8vo. They are accompanied with Latin translations; one of which was executed by Adam Blackwood. (Blacvodæi *Opera*, p. 478.) An unpublished French sonnet of Mary addressed to her son, is preserved in the State-Paper Office. From the *Dict. du Vieux Langage*, p. 337, Dr. Burney has quoted a *chanson* which she is supposed to have written on leaving Calais. (*Hist. of Music*, vol. iii, p. 14.) But these verses seem to be a mere paraphrase of the words recorded by Brantome. Bishop Montague, in his preface to the works of King James, informs us that she "wrote a booke of verses in French of the institution of a prince." The original manuscript, which was in the possession of her son, may still be preserved in the royal library. Among the poems of Sir Thomas Chaloner occurs a "Translatio quorundam Carminum quæ Gallico primum sermone conscripta, a Serenissima

questionably entitled to the character of a learned princess; but her subsequent conduct rather serves to confirm than to refute the caustic observation of Muretus.[d]

The æra at which Buchanan finally returned to his native country, was highly important. After a violent struggle between the old and the new religion, the latter had at length prevailed: its doctrines and discipline received the sanction of parliament in the year 1560. For the manly principles of the reformation he had always cherished a secret affection; and his attachment, as he candidly owns, had been confirmed by the personal malignity of the grey friars.[e] As he now resided in a country where he could avow his sentiments without restraint, he profess-

Scotiæ Regina in mutuæ amicitiæ pignus, una cum excellentis operis annulo, in quo insignis adamas prominebat, ad Serenissimam Angliæ Reginam Elizabetham missa fuerant." *(De Rep. Anglorum Instauranda*, &c. p. 353. Lond. 1579, 4to.) But it is not evident, at least from this inscription, that the original verses were composed by the Scotish queen.

[d] Mureti Variæ Lectiones, lib. viii, cap. xxi. *Mulieres eruditas plerumque libidinosas esse.* The reason which he assigns ought not to be admitted: "Neque mirum: multas enim historias legunt, peccare, ut ait Flaccus, docentes." The opinion of Grotius is more liberal, and perhaps more philosophical.

Crede nihil nostris, aut omnia crede puellis:
Lectricis mores pagina nulla facit.
Quæ casta est, totum leget incorrupta Catullum:
Illi nil tutum est quæ capit, et capitur.

Grotii Poemata, p. 251.

[e] "Et dum impotentiæ suæ indulgent, illum sponte sua sacerdotum licentiæ infensum acrius incendunt, et Lutheranæ causæ minus iniquum reddunt." *(Buchanani Vita*, p. 3.)

ed himself a member of the reformed church of Scotland; and this accession to their cause was duly appreciated by the leaders of the party. The earl of Murray was then rising towards that summit of power which he afterwards attained. He was one of the few Scotish nobles of the age who reverenced literature, and patronized its professors.[f] His own education had not been neglected; he had been committed to the tuition of Ramus,[g] who then presided over the College of De Prêle at Paris. For Buchanan he soon procured a station of some dignity and importance: as commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, he enjoyed the right of nominating the principal of St. Leonard's College; and a vacancy occurring about the year 1566,[h] he placed Buchanan at the head of that seminary.[i] The masterships of the

f Patrick Cockburn is perhaps the earliest writer who has celebrated his patronage of literature. "Accedit etiam generosissimi adolescentis Jacobi Steuardi, illustrissimi et invictissimi Scotorum quondam regis filii inclyti, regio plane ingenio et moribus præditi, patroni ac Mæcenatis mei benignissimi, seria et pia adhortatio." *(De Vulgari Sacræ Scripturæ Phrasi libri duo*, f. 2. Paris. 1558, 8vo.) This work is dedicated to James Stewart.

g Turneri Maria Stuarta Innocens, p. 13, edit. Colon. 1627, 8vo.

h Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 65.

i It appears from the original statutes, as quoted by Mr. Man, that the right of nominating the principal of St. Leonard's College was perpetually vested in the prior of St. Andrews. *(Censure of Ruddiman*, p. 94.) And at the time of Buchanan's appointment, the priorship was held by his patron the earl of Murray. In the act of privy council respecting his resignation of the principality, and appointment to the office of preceptor to the king, the subsequent clause occurs. "Albeit the presentation, nomination, and admission of the master of the said colledge per-

Scotish colleges are generally conferred on ecclesiastics: this practice does not however, in each instance, result from the fundamental statutes, but from the influence of established modes. It has indeed been asserted that Buchanan was not a mere layman, but a doctor and professor of divinity.[k] This supposition is evidently devoid of foundation; and its author ought to have recollected the distinction between doctors by office, and doctors by faculty.[l] The tenure of his appointment would seem to have imposed the task of delivering occasional lectures on theology; and the skill with which he discussed the subject of prophetic inspiration is commemorated in the unpublished history of Calderwood.[m] The theological prelections of a gay and satirical poet must have excited no ordinary curiosity. Buchanan was a man of universal talent; and the

tained of old to the prior of St. Andrews, yet the same right and patronage presently appertains to our sovereign lord, as well by reason of the laws of the realm, as because the priory of St. Andrews presently vaiks destitute of a prior or commendatar." Here the expression is somewhat incorrect; but the sense evidently is, that the right of presentation then belonged to the king, merely because the priorship was vacant. "By reason of the laws of the realm," that right reverted to the crown in case of such a vacancy.

k Man's Censure of Ruddiman, p. 94.

l "Doctores igitur," says the learned Dr. Forbes, "scholastici, sive ecclesiastici, prout a parochiarum pastoribus distinguuntur, duorum sunt generum. Alii sunt doctores officio, nempe, publici professores: alii sunt doctores facultate. (Forbesii *Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana*, p. 305. Aberdoniæ, 1629, 4to.)

m Man's Censure of Ruddiman, p. 95.

study of theology had recently occupied a considerable share of his attention.

On his return to Scotland, he determined to publish in a correct manner, the poetical works which he had composed at many different periods of his variegated life. His paraphrase of eighteen psalms had already appeared as a specimen; and the whole version having received the polish of his masterly hand, he committed it to H. Stephanus. That famous printer is represented as having long deferred the impression; and it is at least certain that the manuscript was in his custody so early as the year 1562.[n] Its suppression might be imputed to various causes; but according to the very learned Hadrianus Junius, he had protracted the edition with the secret view of claiming this version as his own, in the event of Buchanan's decease.[o] Many circumstances render this supposition highly improbable; and it must be recollected that Junius regarded with manifest hostility, the man to whom he imputes so flagitious a scheme. The date of this first complete edition is uncertain; for it has been absurdly omitted in the book itself.[p] It was printed by Henricus Stephanus and his bro-

[n] Maittaire, Historia Stephanorum, p. 256.

[o] Junii Animadversa, p. 390, edit. Roter. 1708, 8vo.

[p] Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica, nunc primum edita, authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto, poetarum nostri sæculi facile principe. Ejusdem Davidis Psalmi aliquot a Theodoro Beza Vezelio versi. Psalmi aliquot in versus item Græcos nuper a diversis translati. *Apud Henricum Stephanum, et ejus fratrem Robertum Stephanum, typographum regium.* Ex pri-

ther Robertus. In the year 1566 they published a second edition, which includes the author's tragedy of *Jephthes*. Buchanan, in the title-page of both impressions, is styled "Poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps:" and his paraphrase was recommended to the learned world by the poetical encomiums of several respectable scholars; by the Greek verses of H. Stephanus, Franciscus Portus, and Federicus Jamotius, and by the Latin verses of Stephanus and Castelvetro. The name of Jamotius is not so familiar to learned ears, but he was a man of considerable erudition. He was a native of Bethune in Artois, and by profession a physician.[q] Castelvetro, an Ita-

vilegio regis. 8vo.—The subsequent editions are very numerous; but I shall only mention some of the more remarkable. The earliest commentator on this work was Nathan Chytræus; who published an edition with scholia adapted to the use of younger students. Francof. 1585, 12mo. That of Alexander Yule, or *Julius*, is illustrated with an ecphrasis, which had been partly sketched by Buchanan himself. Lond. 1620, 8vo. But the best edition of Buchanan's paraphrase is that published by Robert Hunter, professor of Greek at Edinburgh, and John Love, master of the grammar school of Dalkeith. Edinb. 1737, 8vo. It is neatly and correctly printed by the Ruddimans; and beside the notes of the associated editors, it contains the illustrations of Chytræus, Yule, Ruddiman, and Burman. Andrew Waddel, A. M. prepared for publication "G. Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms of David, translated into English prose, as near the original as the different idioms of the Latin and English languages will allow: with the Latin text and order of construction in the same page." Edinb. 1772, 8vo.

[q] Andreæ Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 216, edit. Lovan. 1643, 4to.—Among other works, Jamotius published the following. "Varia Poemata Græca et Latina." Antverp. 1593, 4to. "Galeni Paraphrasis in Menodoti Exhortationem ad Liberalium Artium Studia, Annotationibus illustrata." Lutetiæ, 1583, 4to. He also published an edition of Tryphiodorus, accompanied with a poetical translation, and with notes.

lian critic of high reputation, is still regarded as one of the most subtle commentators on Aristotle's poetics.[r] Of Buchanan's superlative genius, Stephanus was a zealous admirer: it was he who conferred upon him the appellation of chief poet of the age; and this honourable title was afterwards recognized by the scholars of France, Italy, Germany, and other countries.[s] Of this celebrated printer, it may safely be affirmed that he was at least as much inclined to censure as to commend: his cotemporary Joseph Scaliger, though very willing to applaud his erudition, has characterized him as a man of an arrogant and morose temper; and even his son-in-law, the candid and amiable Casaubon, however anxious he might be to conceal his infirmities, has occasionally mentioned him in terms of similar import. The erudition of Stephanus was however extensive and profound; insomuch that he is justly regarded as the most learned printer who has yet appeared. He was one of the best Grecians of that laborious age; and was eminently skilled in the Latin as well as in his vernacular language.

[r] Castelvetro, says Dr. Bentley, "was one of the most ingenious and judicious and learned writers of his age; and his books have at this present such a mighty reputation, that they are sold for their weight in silver in most countries of Europe." (*Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. cii.) The life of Castelvetro, written by Muratori, is published with the collection of his *Opere Critiche*. Berna, 1727, 4to. It is likewise prefixed to the magnificent edition of *Le Rime del Petrarca brevemente esposte per Lodovico Castelvetro*, printed at Venice in the year 1756 in two volumes quarto.

[s] H. Stephani Orationes II, p. 164.

The Greek tongue he studied before the Latin; and this unusual method he afterwards recommended as the most eligible.[t] The services which he rendered to the cause of literature were such as entitle him to perpetual gratitude: before his time, Greek books were extremely rare; and the numerous editions which proceeded from his press, are generally distinguished for their correctness and elegance. Of his own compositions it is more difficult to speak. By his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ*, as well as by some of his philological annotations, he undoubtedly rendered essential service to classical learning; but his efforts at a higher species of excellence are for the most part attended with very indifferent success. He produced an infinite number of little works, which certainly display but a slender share of judgment. Among other critical lucubrations, he published a dissertation *De Criticis Veteribus Græcis et Latinis*;[u] and on such a subject, a curious and interesting treatise might

[t] Estienne, Traicté de la Conformité du Langage François avec le Grec, pref. Paris, 1569, 8vo.—The same method of study is strenuously recommended by Dr. Sharpe. "Hence it should seem more natural to begin with Greek than with Latin; to descend with the stream than to strive against it. The Latin is derived from the Greek, and the knowledge of the latter is a proper introduction to that of the former: it is to begin aright, entering the house by the door; nor would it be less preposterous to learn a corollary before you learn the theorem from which it is deduced, than to learn Latin, which is the offspring of the Æolic dialect, before you have learned Greek." (*Origin and Structure of the Greek Tongue*, p. 10, edit. Lond. 1777, 8vo.)

[u] Parisiis, 1587, 4to.

have been expected from so learned a man: this dissertation however is sufficiently trifling and jejune. Another book he has professedly written on the Latinity of Lipsius; but a great part of it is occupied with considerations respecting a war with the Turks. This, says Scaliger, appeared so ridiculous, that some person proposed to entitle it "De Lipsii Latinitate *adversus Turcam*." He was judiciously advised by Thuanus and by P. Pithœus to restrict himself to the publication of ancient authors;[x] a plan by which he would have contributed more effectually to the advancement of learning.

Stephanus, who was ambitious of universal excellence, might perhaps expect to obtain the same preëminence among the Greek, as was due to Buchanan among the Latin paraphrasts of the psalms. But, like his countryman Serranus, he did not complete the version of which he published a specimen. A Greek translation had formerly been exhibited by Apollinarius; and at a more recent æra, others were executed with different degrees of success by Æmilius Portus, Petavius, and Duport. The Latin versions amount to a very large number; and by every competent and impartial judge, the superiority has always been awarded to Buchanan.[y] In this

[x] Vavassor de Epigrammate, p. 201.

[y] The subsequent lines occur in a little poem of Barlæus, prefixed to a harsh and inelegant version of the psalms by Jer. Hoelzlin, professor of Greek in the university of Leyden. Lugd. Bat. 1630, 8vo.

renowned work, he has employed no fewer than twenty-nine varieties of metre; and each of them with the utmost propriety and skill. The adaptation of the measures, the harmony of the verse, the elegance and purity of the diction, the pious and dignified strain of the phraseology, would have been sufficient to secure a high reputation independent of his original compositions. This production indeed displays all the spirit and freedom of an original: the poet seems unfettered by the necessity of adhering to a prescribed train of thought; and he often rises to all the enthusiasm and sublimity of his divine prototype. His version of the hundred and fourth psalm might alone have conferred upon him the character of a poet.[z] The next in merit is perhaps the hundred and thirty-seventh; which he has clothed in elegiac verse that has seldom or ever been surpassed. His work is professedly a paraphrase; and indeed it would be impossible to execute a strict translation with

Jessæi numeros, et sacri carmina vatis,
Et quondam profugi nobile regis opus,
Otia sceptrorum, facilesque in vota tiaras,
Aptavit fidibus Scotia docta suis;
Et cecinit seris victura poemata seclis,
Qualia majestas postulet ipsa Dei.

[z] Several other Scotish poets have attempted to rival this exquisite version. See a collection entitled *Octupla; hoc est octo Paraphrases Poeticæ Psalmi* civ, *Authoribus totidem Scotis.* Edinb. 1696, 8vo. This collection also includes the critical tracts of Dr. Barclay and Dr. Eglisham. Lauder has reprinted the prose as well as the verse, in his *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ.* Edinb. 1739, 2 tom. 8vo.

any degree of elegance. That he has frequently dilated the original thought, is sufficiently evident; but no translator has been more successful in retaining the spirit and essence. It is not certain that Buchanan was intimately acquainted with the Hebrew language; but he must have consulted with diligence the principal commentators on the book of psalms. He is reported to have enjoyed the particular friendship of Franciscus Vatablus; and to have derived from that famous professor some more curious elucidations of the Hebrew text.[a]

From his admirable version, he has carefully excluded such expressions as are strictly and solely applicable to subjects of classical mythology; but as he had adopted a classical language, it would have been utterly impossible to exclude every word or phrase, capable of suggesting the mythological allusions of his Pagan predecessors. The ancient Pagans often addressed Jupiter, whom they regarded as the supreme being, in a strain of phraseology which may reverently be applied to the true God;[b] and sometimes per-

[a] "Doctissimus poeta," says Dr. Barclay, "sequutus Francisci Vatabli psalmorum interpretationem; quem Parisiis Hebraicæ linguæ professorem habuit summe amicum et familiarem. Itaque consulebat curiosé fontes ipsos, et linguam qua psalmos cecinit *regius propheta*. Unde deducit aliquando plus sententiæ quam appareat in vulgatis editionibus." (*Judicium de Certamine Eglisemmii*, p. 14.)

[b] "Et qui Jovem principem volunt," says Minucius Felix, "falluntur in nomine, sed de una potestate consentiunt." (*Octavius*, p. 145, edit. Ouzelii, 1672.)

haps a Christian could not select words more suitable to the devotional ideas that may arise in his mind. When he writes in a language which derives its vital principles from a people whose objects of worship were fictitious, he cannot express himself without employing words originally appropriated by mythology: the boundaries of speech are already ascertained, and the only expedient that remains is a happy and judicious adaptation. Buchanan has however been censured by a late writer. "In the translation of a psalm," says Lord Woodhouselee, "we are shocked when we find the almighty addressed by the epithets of a heathen divinity, and his attributes celebrated in the language and allusions proper to the Pagan mythology....In the entire translation of the psalms by Johnston, we do not find a single instance of similar impropriety. And in the admirable version by Buchanan, there are (to my knowledge) only two passages which are censurable on that account. The one is the beginning of the ivth psalm:

O pater, O hominum *divûmque* æterna potestas!

which is the first line of the speech of Venus to Jupiter, in the 10th Æneid: and the other is the beginning of psalm lxxxii, where two entire lines, with the change of one syllable, are borrowed from Horace:

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est *Jovæ*.

In the latter example, the poet probably judged that the change of *Jovis* into *Jovæ* removed all objection; and Ruddiman has attempted to vindicate the *divûm* of the former passage, by applying it to saints or angels:[c] but allowing there were sufficient apology for both these words, the impropriety still remains; for the associated ideas present themselves immediately to the mind, and we are justly offended with the literal adoption of an address to Jupiter in a hymn to the creator."[d] Whatever may be the general effect of the two passages, it may at least be affirmed that those particular words are employed without any degree of impropriety. In the original scriptures, the angels are repeatedly denominated gods: and *Jova* is manifestly the tetragrammaton of the Hebrews, or that name of the supreme being which consists of four letters.[e] To insert the word Jehovah in the translation of a psalm, certainly cannot be deemed reprehensible.[f]

Some feeble attempts have been made to dis-

[c] Ruddiman's Vindication of Buchanan, p. 161.

[d] Woodhouselee's Principles of Translation, p. 254.

[e] Drusii Observationes Sacræ, p. 6.

[f] Dr. Pitcairne commences his version of the hundred and fourth psalm with the following line.

Dexteram invictam canimus *Jovamque.*

This genuine reading occurs in the *Octupla*, which was published during the lifetime of Dr. Pitcairne. Ruddiman and Lauder have very improperly substituted *Jovem.*

possess Buchanan of his high preeminence in this department. Dr. Eglisham had the vanity to suppose himself capable of executing a paraphrase, superior to that of his illustrious countryman; and was even so infatuated as to exhibit a version of the hundred and fourth psalm in contrast with his. On Buchanan's translation of that psalm, he at the same time published a furious criticism; which he concludes very complacently, by submitting his lucubrations to the judgment of the university of Paris. His fever of vanity was however expelled, and by a very violent remedy. Dr. Johnston, who was aware that the reputation of his native land was closely connected with that of Buchanan,[g] exposed the phrensy of Eglisham in a galling satire; and Dr. Barclay, another learned physician, refuted his captious criticisms, and exposed the puerility of the version which he had exhibited in so hazardous a position.

Arthur Johnston was one of the best Latin poets of the age in which he flourished. His original compositions are distinguished by a spirit of classical elegance; and he has executed a complete paraphrase of the psalms, which is regarded as superior to that of every other poet

g Si qua Caledonio facta est injuria vati,
Scotia, te, regem tangit et illa tuum.
Te penes illius sunt incunabula, ab illo
Parva licet, magnum, Scotia, nomen habes.
JONSTONI Hypermorus Medicaster.

except Buchanan. Of Buchanan's superiority he professes to have been abundantly aware; but some of his fervent admirers have attempted to elevate him "above all Greek, above all Roman fame." Lauder, a man notorious for his impostures, was the first who endeavoured to establish Johnston's reputation on the ruin of Buchanan's; and his project found an immediate abettor in Mr. Benson, an English gentleman of some small scholarship, and of more than sufficient confidence in his own powers. Buchanan's defence against Lauder was undertaken by Mr. Love;[g] against Benson, by Mr. Ruddiman, a more formidable antagonist. Not satisfied with overwhelming Johnston with hyperbolical praise, Mr. Benson had laboured to prove that Buchanan's paraphrase is unworthy of the commendation which it has received: but his magisterial and shallow criticisms were most completely exposed by that excellent grammarian; whose elaborate performance, though perhaps somewhat deficient in compression, may still be recommended for its intrinsic value.

The elegant and melodious version of Johnston is almost entirely restricted to the elegiac measure, in which he had attained to great pro-

[g] The controversy between Lauder and Love produced many pamphlets; but the only one that I have seen is the first part of Lauder's *Calumny Display'd*. Of that work there are at least other two parts. In the catalogue subjoined to this volume, I have mentioned Love's comparison of Buchanan and Johnston on the authority of Mr. Chalmers, p. 187.

ficiency. In the hundred and nineteenth psalm alone, his metre is varied; and each stanza is exhibited in a new species of verse. Buchanan's plan of varying the measure according to the characteristics of the poem, was evidently more eligible to a writer who possessed such versatility of talent. His friend Beza has likewise adopted a variety of metres; but he has not perhaps selected them with equal judgment.

Sir Thomas Hope, who was king's advocate from 1626 till 1641, and who is well known to Scotish lawyers, must also be commemorated among the Scotish poets who have executed Latin paraphrases of this sacred book. His version still remains in manuscript; and its merit is not perhaps sufficient to render its publication an object of much solicitude.[h]

Buchanan's paraphrase continues to be read in the principal schools of Scotland, and perhaps in those of some other countries. Lauder's attempt to supplant it by that of Johnston proved unsuccessful. During the lifetime of Buchanan, it had begun to be introduced into the schools of Germany; and its various measures had been accommodated to appropriate melodies, for the purpose of being chanted by academics.[i] Pope

h Hope's version of the hundred and fourth psalm may be found in Lauder's *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*, tom. ii, p. xxvi. To this famous lawyer Johnston has addressed one of his epigrams. (Jonstoni *Poemata*, p. 374. Middelb. Zeland. 1642, 16to.)

i Nathanis Chytræi præf. in Collectanea in Buchanani Paraphrasin Psal-

Urban the eighth, himself a poet of no mean talents, is said to have averred that " 'twas pity it was written by so great a heretic, for otherwise it should have been sung in all churches under his authority."[k] The famous Bishop Bedell " loved it beyond all other Latin poetry;"[l] and Nicolas Bourbon, who was himself a poet of considerable celebrity, declared that he would rather have been the author of this paraphrase than archbishop of Paris.[m]

When Buchanan consigned his psalms to the printer, he was probably engaged in superintending the classical studies of Queen Mary; and to that most accomplished and hopeful princess, he gratefully inscribed a work destined for immortality. His dedication has received, and indeed is entitled to the highest commendation for its terseness, compression, and delicacy.

Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptra tueris avos;
Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus,

morum.—The edition of Chytræus, which has frequently been reprinted, is accompanied with the music. Dempster mentions an earlier edition of Buchanan's psalms, " quos musicis legibus accommodavit Jo. Servianus, et edidit Lugduni anno M.D.LXXIX." *(Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 109.)

k Sir John Denham's preface to his Version of the Psalms. Lond. 1714, 8vo.

l Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 77. Lond. 1685, 8vo.

m Menage, Observations sur les Poësies de M. de Malherbe, p. 395.

Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.
Illa quidem Cirrha procul et Permesside lympha,
Pene sub Arctoi sidere nata poli :
Non tamen ausus eram male natum exponere fœtum,[n]
Ne mihi displiceant quæ placuere tibi.[o]
Nam quod ab ingenio domini sperare nequibant,
Debebunt genio forsitan illa tuo.[p]

Buchanan recommended himself to the queen by other poetical tributes. One of his most beautiful productions is the epithalamium which he composed on her first nuptials.[q] This attractive subject had also excited the poetical talents of De l'Hospital and Turnebus; but the rival composition of Buchanan displays a fertility of fancy, and a felicity of diction, which preclude all comparison. His encomium on his native land it would be unpardonable to overlook.

Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,[r]
Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando

[n] This verse is sometimes misunderstood. It evidently alludes to the practice of *exposing* deformed or sickly infants. "I durst not however expose my unpromising offspring."

[o] Invideo Pisis, Laurenti, nec tamen odi,
Ne mihi displiceat quæ tibi terra placet.
POLITIANI Opera, sig. gg. 5. Venet. 1498, fol.

[p] This famous epigram is imitated by Johnston in the dedication of his psalms, and by Dempster in that of his Latin version of Montgomery's *Cherrie and Slae*.

[q] Buchanani Silvæ, iv.

[r] "Nostra autem ætate," says Crinitus, "[Scotorum] complures cum Carolo Francorum rege Italiam invaserunt, qui sub ejus signis militarent: sunt enim in dirigendis maxime sagittis viri acres atque egregii." (*De Hones-*

Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et æstus ;
Nec fossa et muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,
Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam ;
Polliciti servare fidem, sanctumque vereri
Numen amicitiæ, mores, non munus amare.[s]
Artibus his, totum fremerent cum bella per orbem,
Nullaque non leges tellus mutaret avitas
Externo subjecta jugo, gens una vetustis
Sedibus antiqua sub libertate resedit.
Substitit hic Gothi furor, hic gravis impetus hæsit
Saxonis, hic Cimber superato Saxone, et acri
Perdomito Neuster Cimbro. Si volvere priscos
Non piget annales, hic et victoria fixit
Præcipitem Romana gradum : quem non gravis Auster
Reppulit, incultis non squalens Parthia campis,
Non æstu Meroe, non frigore Rhenus et Albis
Tardavit, Latium remorata est Scotia cursum :
Solaque gens mundi est, cum qua non culmine montis,
Non rapidi ripis amnis, non objice silvæ,
Non vasti spatiis campi Romana potestas,
Sed muris fossaque sui confinia regni
Munivit : gentesque alias cum pelleret armis
Sedibus, aut victas vilem servaret in usum
Servitii, hic contenta suos defendere fines
Roma securigeris prætendit mœnia Scotis :
Hic spe progressus posita, Carronis ad undam
Terminus Ausonii signat divortia regni.

*ta Disciplina*, p. 56, edit. Lugd. 1554, 8vo.) It was however a general characteristic of our ancestors to place very little reliance on missile weapons.

[s] One of the most learned of Buchanan's friends had bestowed similar praise.

Si cui simplicitas, et priscæ sæcula vitæ,
Sors sine dissidiis, mens sine fraude placet,
Ne Scotiæ dextras, hirsutaque pectora spernat :
Haud bene junguntur luxus et arma simul.

Jul. Scaligeri Poemata, tom. i, p. 559.

Neve putes duri studiis assueta Gradivi
Pectora mansuetas non emollescere ad artes,
Hæc quoque, cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem,
Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra Camœnis.[t]

The elegant poem which he composed on the birth of his future pupil King James, affords an interesting proof of the early solicitude with which he regarded his destiny, as connected with the welfare of his native country.

Vos quoque felices felici prole parentes,
Jam tenerum teneris puerum consuescite ab annis
Justitiæ, sanctumque bibat virtutis amorem
Cum lacte; et primis pietas comes addita cunis
Conformetque animum, et pariter cum corpore crescat.
Non ita conversi puppis moderamine clavi
Flectitur, ut populi pendent a principe mores.
Non carcer, legumque minæ, torvæque secures
Sic animos terrent trepidos formidine pœnæ,
Ut veræ virtutis honos, moresque modesti
Regis, et innocui decus et reverentia sceptri
Convertunt mentes ad honesta exempla sequaces.[u]

Several of his miscellaneous poems of less importance relate to the same accomplished princess; who was not insensible of his powerful claims upon the protection of his country. In the year 1564, she had rewarded his literary merit by conferring on him the temporalties of the

[t] Archbishop Usher has remarked that this part of the poet's encomium belongs to Ireland, the Scotia of the ancients. "Quod de *sua* cecinit poeta optimus, de *nostra* Scotia multo rectius possit usurpari." (*Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, præf. Dublin. 1632, 4to.)

[u] Buchanani Silvæ, viii.

abbey of Crossragwell; which amounted in annual valuation to the sum of five hundred pounds in Scotish currency.[x]

But while he thus enjoyed the favour of the queen, he did not neglect his powerful friend the earl of Murray. To that nobleman he inscribed his *Franciscanus* during the same year. The date of the earliest edition is uncertain; but the dedication was written at St. Andrews on the fifth of June 1564, when he was perhaps residing in the earl's house.

He at the same time prepared for the press his miscellany entitled *Fratres Fraterrimi;* a collection of satires, almost entirely directed against the impurities of the Popish church. The absurdity of its doctrines, and the immoral lives of its priests, afforded him an ample field for the exercise of his formidable talents; and he has alternately employed the weapons of sarcastic irony and vehement indignation. His admirable wit and address must have contributed to promote the cause which Luther had so ardently espoused; and Buchanan ought also to be classed with the most illustrious of the reformers. Guy Patin was so fascinated with his satirical powers, that he committed to memory all his epigrams, his *Franciscanus*, and his *Fratres Fra-*

[x] Mr. Ruddiman has published the writ of privy seal, dated at Holyroodhouse on the ninth of October 1564. (*Animadversions*, p 86.) The abbacy was then vacant "throw the deceis of umquhile Master Quintene Kennedie late abbot thairof." Quintin Kennedy, a man of learning, was the brother of Buchanan's late pupil. (Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, p. 136.)

*terrimi.* After having particularized some of Buchanan's verses, he subjoins, Virgil never produced better, but it has required fifteen centuries to produce a poet like Virgil.[y] This lively and intelligent physician was evidently no bigot: many decided Papists have however mentioned the heretical poet with enthusiasm; though such indeed as expected preferment, have constantly interposed a formal caution relative to his heresy.[z]

To these satires, which seem to have been composed in Scotland, Portugal, and France, he prefixed a poetical dedication to his friend Carolus Utenhovius. Buchanan and Utenhovius apparently maintained a particular intimacy; and they have repeatedly interchanged poetical compliments.

Carolus Utenhovius was born at Ghent in the year 1536. His grandfather Nicholas was distinguished by his rank, his prudence, and his erudition; and his father, who bore the same baptismal name with himself, was considered as a man of piety and eloquence. The friend of Buchanan prosecuted his studies at Paris with more than

[y] Lettres de Guy Patin, tom. i, p. 592.

[z] "Eorum nemo est," says Scioppius, "cui idem quod Buchanano contigerit, ut in quovis carminum genere summam obtineret: cujus quidem rei laude omnem etiam antiquitatem provocat; ut tanta illa ingenii, vere unici et incomparabilis, ornamenta ad impietatem conversa fuisse, vehementer non ipsius magis quam reipublicæ causa dolendum sit." (*De Rhetoricarum Exercitationum Generibus*, p. 26.) Gaddius characterizes him as "historicus, poeta maximæ famæ, propter hæresin non nisi cum venia memorandus, ingenio vere unico et incomparabili ornatus." (*De Scriptoribus non Ecclesiasticis*, tom. i, p. 87.)

common success. His birth seems to have been superior to his fortune; for he engaged himself as preceptor to the daughters of Jean de Morel, so highly celebrated for their literature.[a] He afterwards visited England in the train of Paul de Foix, the French ambassador; and his poetical incense recommended him to the notice of Queen Elizabeth. Having entered into the matrimonial state, he settled at Cologne; where he died of an apoplexy in the year 1600. Thuanus represents him as a wanderer all his life, but still constant in his love of poetry. His works chiefly consist of miscellaneous verses, composed in seven different languages, ancient and modern. He was long understood to be engaged in preparing an edition of the Dionysiacs of Nonnus, together with a Latin translation; and, in the opinion of Falkenburgius, he was excellently qualified for the task.[b] This edition however did not make its appearance.[c]

[a] Their names were Camille, Lucrece, and Diane. The eldest, who is the most famous of the three, wrote verses in Greek, Latin, and French. Her Greek epigram on their father's death is quoted by Sammarthanus. (*Elogia Gallorum Doctrina Illustrium*, p. 78, edit. Paris. 1630, 4to.) Buchanan has addressed an ode to this learned lady. (*Miscell.* xxviii.) Their mother, as well as their father, was a writer of verses. (Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault*, p. 190.)

[b] Falkenburgii Epist. ante Nonnum. Antverp. 1569, 4to.—Freherus has erroneously imputed the intended edition of Nonnus to C. Utenhovius the father. (*Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, p. 1330.)

[c] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. v, p. 847. Andreæ Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 129. Sweertii Athenæ Belgicæ, p. 172. Adami Vitæ Germanorum Philosophicis et Humanioribus Literis Clarorum, p. 443. Du Verdier, Bibliotheque Françoise, tom. i, p. 310. La Croix du Maine, Bibliotheque Françoise, par Juvigny, tom. i, p. 119.

In the year 1567, Buchanan published another collection, consisting of *Elegiæ*, *Silvæ*, *Hendecasyllabi*.[d] To this miscellany was prefixed an epistle to his friend Peter Daniel; a learned man who is still remembered for his edition of Virgil with the commentary of Servius. This epistle contains several hints relative to the history of the author's poetical works. "Between the occupations of a court," says Buchanan, "and the annoyance of disease, I have hardly been able to steal any portion of time, which I could either devote to my friends or to myself; and I have therefore been prevented from maintaining a frequent correspondence with my friends, and from collecting my poems which lie so widely dispersed. For my own part, I was not extremely solicitous to recal them from perdition; for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature, and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame. But as Pierre Montauré and some other friends, to whom I neither can nor ought to refuse any request, demanded them with such earnestness, I have employed some of my leisure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a state of arrangement. With this specimen, which consists of one book of elegies, another of miscellanies, and a third of hendecasyllables, I in the mean time present you. When it shall suit your convenience, I beg you will communicate

[d] Parisiis, apud Robertum Stephanum, 1567, 12mo.

them to Montauré, Des Mesmes, and other philological friends, without whose advice I trust you will not adopt any measure relative to their publication. In a short time, I propose sending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar denomination: all these I wish to be at the disposal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own. In my paraphrase of the psalms, I have corrected many typographical errors, and have likewise made various alterations: I must therefore request you to advise Stephanus not to publish a new edition without my knowledge. Hitherto I have not found leisure to finish the second book of my poem *De Sphæra;* and therefore I have not made a transcript of the first: as soon as the former is completed, I shall transmit them to you. Salute in my name all our friends at Orleans, and such others as it may be convenient. Farewell. Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth 1566."[c] The two friends whom Buchanan particularizes in this letter, were men of no inconsiderable distinction. Pierre Montauré, who has been commemorated by Thuanus as a man of excellent talents, was master of the requests, a counsellor of state, and keeper of the royal library. He composed Latin verses with uncommon felicity, and was profoundly skilled in the

[c] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 5.

mathematical sciences.[f] His attachment to the cause of rational religion involved him in misfortune: having been driven from Orleans, the place of his nativity, he retired to Sancerre sur Loire, where his unmerited exile was soon terminated by death. He died on the nineteenth of August 1570; and his intimate friend De l'Hospital composed his epitaph in affectionate and indignant terms.[g] His library, which was uncommonly rich in mathematical manuscripts, was pillaged during the subsequent tumults of St. Bartholomew.[h] Henry des Mesmes, who was master of the requests, and enjoyed other offices of dignity, descended from a family that derived its remote lineage from the native country of Bu-

[f] Sammarthani Elogia, p. 48.—The commentary of Montauré on the tenth book of Euclid was published in the year 1551. (Vossius *De Scientiis Mathematicis*, p. 335.) Three of his Latin poems have been collected by Janus Gruterus. (*Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*, tom. ii, p. 711.)

[g] One of the epistles of De l'Hospital is addressed "Ad Petrum Montaureum, elegantissimum poetam et mathematicum præstantissimum." (P. 73.) His poem entitled "P. Montaurei Aurelii Tumulus," concludes with these verses.

Conditus hoc terræ tumulo Montaureus, urbe
Aurelia, clarisque parentibus ortus, honores
Præcipuos vivens, et principem adeptus in omni
Laude locum: patria misere civilibus armis
Oppressa, profugus Sancerras venerat alto
Colle sitas: ibi dum paucis comitatus amicis
Expectat qui finis erit, quæ meta laborum,
Ante diem clausit (sic Dii voluere) supremum,
Quam daret uxori, quam dulcibus oscula natis,
Compositasque domi placida res pace videret.

Hospitalii Epistolæ, p. 433, edit. Lugd. 1592, 8vo.

[h] Thuana, p. 197.

chanan.[i] Although he did not court the fame of authorship, few individuals have been more generally known among their learned cotemporaries.[k] He was not only a generous encourager of literature, but was himself a man of erudition. He was possessed of a noble library, which was always accessible to the learned; and his illustrious family was long afterwards distinguished for the same liberality of conduct.[l] Buchanan was not the only poet who confided in the critical judgment of Des Mesmes; his decisions seem to have been very generally regarded with the utmost deference.[m] Having retired from the

i Sammarthani Elogia Gallorum Doctrina Illustrium, p. 121.

k Turnebus dedicated to him the second volume of his *Adversaria;* and Gruchius, another learned friend of Buchanan, inscribed to the same respectable character his *Responsio ad binas Caroli Sigonii Reprehensiones.* Passerat, who resided many years in the family of Des Mesmes, has written a poem in celebration of his library *(Del. Poet. Gall.* tom. iii, p. 2); and has likewise devoted many other effusions to the praise of his munificent patron.

l Le Gallois, Traité des Bibliotheques, p. 152.—See likewise the dedication of Henninius's edition of Juvenal. Ultraj. 1685, 4to.

m Qui si judice Memmio probentur,
Certe non fuerit mihi verendum,
Quin quovis hominum probante, plausum
Vel quem non meruere consequantur.
SAMMARTHANI Poemata, p. 190, edit. Lutet. 1629, 4to.
Sed quid judicium meum requiris,
Memmi, ævi decus atque literarum?
Cujus judiciumque calculumque
Tanti omnes faciunt boni poetæ,
Tanti omnes faciunt viri eruditi,
Nil tanti ut faciant boni poetæ,
Nil tanti ut faciant viri eruditi.
BONEFONII Carmina, p. 48, edit. Lond. 1720, 12mo.

court in disgust, he died in the month of August 1596, at the age of sixty-four.

His promise relative to the three books of iambics, epigrams, and odes, Buchanan seems to have forgotten: after an interval of nearly ten years, Daniel strongly urged its performance. It is not certain whether those poems were printed before the author's decease; but they now contribute to form the stately and variegated monument of his fame. Of his short and miscellaneous pieces, the subjects are sometimes indeed of a trivial nature; but even those lighter efforts serve to evince the wonderful versatility of his mind. His epigrams, which consist of three books, are not the least remarkable of his compositions: the terseness of the diction, the ductility and pungency of the thought, have deservedly placed them in the very first class. The general admiration which they have excited, appears from the frequency with which they are translated and imitated by poets of various countries. The pointed epigram has always been a favourite mode of intellectual exercise with the French; and several accomplished scholars of that nation have sufficiently indicated their approbation of Buchanan's epigrammatic wit. Menage, who has pronounced all his verses to be excellent, was particularly delighted with the felicity of the subsequent lines.[n]

[n] Menagiana, tom. ii, p. 133.

Illa mihi semper præsenti dura Neæra,
Me, quoties absum, semper abesse dolet.
Non desiderio nostri, non mœret amore,
Sed se non nostro posse dolore frui.[o]

That admirable philologer has imitated them in one of his Italian madrigals.

Chi creduto l'avrebbe?
L'empia, la cruda Iole
Del mio partir si duole.
A quel finto dolore
Non ti fidar, mio core.
Non è vera pietade
Quella che monstra, nò; ma crudeltade.
Dell' aspro mio martire
La cruda vuol gioire;
Udir la cruda i miei sospiri ardenti,
E mirar vuole i duri miei tormenti.[p]

M. de la Monnoye, a man of extensive and accurate literature, translated the same epigram into French.

Philis, qui tête à tête insensible à mes feux,
Comte pour rien mes pleurs, mes soupirs, et mes vœux,
Quand je suis éloigné regrette ma présence.
Ah! dois-je là-dessus me flater vainement?
Non, non, le déplaisir qu'elle a de mon absence
Lui vient de ne pouvoir joüir de mon tourment.[q]

Buchanan's epigram *In Zoilum* has frequently

[o] Buchanani Epigram. lib. i, 31.
[p] Menagii Poemata, p. 267, edit. Paris. 1668, 8vo.
[q] Poesies de M. de la Monnoye, p. 47. Haye, 1716, 8vo.

been repeated with relish, and frequently translated.

Frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, lædis :
Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi.[r]

Menage, who has written another in the very same strain, avers that Buchanan, as well as himself, was indebted to the prose of Libanius.[s]

Μὰψ ἐμὲ λοιδορέεις, μὰψ, Ζώϊλε, σὲ ἐπαινῶ·
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς, ὡ σοῖς πίσις ἔνεσι λόγοις.[t]

The following verses of M. de la Monnoye are professedly a translation of Buchanan's distich.

Tu dis par tout du mal de moi,
Je dis par tout du bien de toi :
Quel malheur est le nôtre !
L'on ne nous croit ni l'un ni l'autre.[u]

His epigrammatic epitaph on Jacobus Silvius, a famous professor of physic in the university of Paris, shall close these motley transcripts.

Silvius hic situs est, gratis qui nil dedit unquam :
Mortuus et gratis quod legis ista, dolet.[x]

Silvius was famous for his learning, and infamous for the most sordid avarice. Buchanan's indignation had been provoked by the indecent rage

[r] Buchanani Epigram. lib. i, 12.
[s] Menage, Anti-Baillet, tom. ii, p. 277.
[t] Menagii Poemata, p. 110.
[u] Poesies de M. de la Monnoye, p. 242.
[x] Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 10.

which he publicly testified against two poor students, who had occasionally attended his prelections without paying their fees. He died in the year 1555; and so little was his memory revered among his pupils, that during the very crisis of his funeral service, some of them exhibited Buchanan's epigram on the door of the church.[y] H Stephanus has translated this distich into French.

> Ici gist Sylvius, auquel onc en sa vie
> De donner rien gratis ne prit aucune envie:
> Et ores qu'il est mort et tout rongé de vers,
> Encores a despit qu'on lit gratis ces vers.[z]

The editors of Buchanan have uniformly inserted among his works, and without any suggestion of its spuriousness, an epigram on Julius the second[a] which was perhaps written before Buchanan was born, and certainly before he had exceeded the seventh year of his age. It was composed and circulated during the lifetime of that pontiff, who died on the twenty-second of February 1513; and Janus Lascaris had obtained his favour by repelling it in another epigram, where the same topics are converted to his praise[b]. In one collection,[c] the satirical lines are

[y] Sammarthani Elogia, p. 24. Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. vi, p. 933.

[z] Estienne, Apologie pour Herodote, p. 181.

[a] Buchanani Miscell. xxi.

[b] Ferronus de Rebus Gestis Gallorum, f. 60, b, edit. Lutet. 1554, fol.

[c] Pasquillorum tomi duo, p. 91. *Eleutheropoli*, 1541, 8vo.—This very rare book is supposed to have been edited by Cœlius Secundus Curio.

ascribed to C. Gr. supposed to be Conradus Grebelius of Zurich.[d]

In the present arrangement of Buchanan's poetry, no separate book of odes is to be found; but a large proportion of his *Miscellanea* is of the lyric denomination. In his paraphrase of the psalms, lyric measures are chiefly employed; and many odes occur among his other productions. In this department of composition, as well as in various others, he deservedly holds the first rank among the modern Latinists. His diction is terse and elegant; his numbers are harmonious; and as his genius possessed a native elevation, he did not find it requisite to invest his thoughts with an eternal pomp of words. Several of the moderns, and even Casimir himself, seem to have entertained an opinion that

It was printed by Joannes Oporinus of Basil. (Gesneri *Partitiones Universales*, f. 49.)

d Menagiana, tom. iii, p. 57.—To the curious remarks of M. de la Monnoye it may be added, that the two epigrams are printed among those of Janus Lascaris. In the edition published by Jacobus Tusanus, they stand thus:

Ἄδηλον de quodam Pontifice.

Patria cui Genua est, genitricem Græcia, partum
Pontus et unda dedit, qui bonus esse potest?
Sunt vani Ligures, mendax est Græcia, ponto
Nulla fides: malus est hæc tria quisquis habet.

Lascaris.

Est Venus orta mari, Graium sapientia, solers
Ingenium est Ligurum: qui malus esse potest
Cui genus ut Veneri, a Graiis sapientia, solers
Ingenium a Genua est? Monie proterve tace.

Lascaris Epigrammata, sig. c, edit. Paris. 1527, 8vo.

the dignity of lyric poetry cannot be supported without a perpetual straining after brilliant metaphors and gorgeous diction: from an adherence to this notion, their productions are often removed to an equal distance from classical elegance, and from genuine sublimity. Buchanan's diction is lofty when the subject requires it; but the practice of Horace had suggested to him, that every ode need not aim at sublimity, and that every sublime ode need not be darkened by an unbroken cloud of metaphors. His ode on the first of May[e] has been very honourably distinguished by a late ingenious and elegant writer. "I know not," says Mr. Alison, "any instance where the effect of association is so remarkable in bestowing sublimity on objects, to which it does not naturally belong, as in the following inimitable poem of Buchanan's, on the month of May. This season is, in general, fitted to excite emotions very different from sublimity, and the numerous poems which have been written in celebration of it, dwell uniformly on its circumstances of 'vernal joy.' In this ode, however, the circumstances which the poet has selected, are of a kind which, to me, appear inexpressibly sublime, and distinguish the poem itself by a degree and character of grandeur which I have seldom found equalled in any other composition."[f]

[e] Buchanani Miscell. xi.

[f] Alison's Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste, p. 21. Edinb. 1790, 4to.

His book of elegies, nine in number, is composed with his usual felicity. Some of them however which relate to the ladies are not the most pleasing of his performances. The most beautiful of these poems is the elegy on the first of May; a season which awoke in Buchanan the finest emotions of a truly poetical mind. The whole is tender and exquisite; but the opening may be produced as no unfavourable specimen.

Festa vocant, lætisque comes Lascivia festis,
Et chorus, et choreæ blandus amicus Amor:
Lu[illegible] et admissis levis Indulgentia frenis,
Et levat assueto libera colla jugo.
Interea vigiles paullum secedite curæ,
Et genitor curæ dure facesse labor:
Este procul lites, et amaræ jurgia linguæ,
Mixtaque flebilibus mœsta querela sonis;
Dum renovat Maius senium revolubilis ævi,
Et tenerum verno pingit honore solum;
Dum cœli juvenile decus, mundique juventa,
Per non ingratas itque redi·que vices,
Inque recurrentes sine fine revertitur ortus,
Et nunquam fessis secula lustrat equis.

These poetical lines are conceived in the genuine spirit of the ancient elegy; and the subsequent description is not of inferior excellence.

Herba comis, tellus nitet herbis, frondibus arbor,
Luxuriat lætum læta per arva pecus.
Carcere liber equus spatiis lascivit apertis,
Jactat et undantes per fera colla jubas.
Tondet ovis pratum, petulans salit agnus in herba,
Pro nivea taurus conjuge bella gerit.

Rupis inaccessæ scandunt dumeta capellæ,
Hœdulus et infirma prælia fronte movet.
Interea pastor geniali stratus in umbra
Discutit incomptis tædia lenta modis:
Nunc et odorata somnos invitat in herba,
Nunc strepitum captat prætereuntis aquæ.
Interdumque sedet liquidas piscator ad undas,
Dum tremulum fallax linea sentit onus:
Forsan et ecquos quærit quibus instruat hamos,
Explicat aut cauta retia longa manu.
Pampinus appositæ complexus brachia silvæ
Vestit adoptivis robora nuda comis.
Poma nemus pingunt, meditatur vinea botros,
Proventu segetis dives inundat ager.
Tityrus in calathis tibi lilia, Thestyli, cana
Servat, et in calathis aurea mala suis;
Cumque suis nidis Progne, Prognesque sororem,
Et te cum nidis, blanda columba, tuis.
Garrula per virides ludunt examina ramos,
Et tenui silvas gutture mulcet avis.
Basia Chaoniæ jungunt lasciva columbæ,
Ingemit extinctum tinnula mater Ityn.
Hanc juvat ad nitidum pennas extendere solem,
Hæc querulam pleno convolat ore domum:
Hæc luteum suspendit opus, fugit illa per auras,
Et liquidas alis stringere gaudet aquas.
Ridet ager, rident silvæ, micat igneus axis,
Et placidum sternit lenior aura fretum.
Hinc procul ergo abeant cruciantes pectora curæ,
Vanaque quærendæ sollicitudo rei.
Pone supercilium capulo vicina senectus,
De tetrica rigidas excute fronte minas.
Utque novus, posito veteri squalore senectæ,
Pandit odoriferas fertilis annus opes;
Postque pruinosæ languentia frigora brumæ
Rura novat veris floridioris honos;

Vos quoque paullisper placidos diffundite vultus,
Aspera cum duris ponite jussa minis :
Carpite, dum fas est, fugitivæ gaudia vitæ,
Credite vos juvenes esse, fuisse senes.

In the sportive effusions of his youth, Buchanan has occasionally indulged a vein of pruriency, from which some authors have very rashly drawn conclusions respecting the morality of his conduct. "His life," says Dr. Stuart, "was liberal like his opinions. From the uncertain condition of his fortune, or from his attachment to study, he kept himself free from the restraint of marriage; but if a judgment may be formed from the vivacity of his temper and the wantonness of his verses, he was no enemy to beauty and to love, and must have known the tumults and the languors of voluptuousness."[g] The necessity of this inference is very questionable. Dr. Blacklock has frequently descanted with enthusiasm on the beauties of external nature; and yet he was absolutely blind from his infancy. Buchanan might allude to raptures which he never felt. His friend Beza had indulged his youthful fancy in the utmost freedom of description; yet he afterwards protested with solemnity, that although his verses were lascivious, his conduct was chaste.[h]

g Stuart's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 243.

h The ancient Latin poets, and even Ovid himself, adopted the same excuse.

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
Ipsum; versiculos nihil necesse est.
CATULLUS.

The poets of that æra seem to have entertained an opinion that no man was entitled to their confraternity, unless he had offered an early sacrifice on the altars of Venus. This notion they might partly imbibe from their perpetual study of the Roman authors; the principal Latin poets of antiquity had bequeathed for their use abundant examples of elegant obscenity. The modern Italians, whether laymen or priests, did not hesitate to follow ancient precedents: some of the productions of Antonius Panormita,[i] Pontan-

> Crede mihi; mores distant a carmine nostro:
> Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi.
>
> OVID.

> Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus:
> Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.
>
> MARTIAL.

> Est jocus in nostris, sunt seria multa libellis:
> Stoicus has partes, has Epicurus agit.
> Salva mihi veterum maneat dum regula morum,
> Ludat permissis sobria Musa jocis.
>
> AUSONIUS.

Muretus, whose juvenile poems are not altogether unexceptionable, has however insinuated the futility of such allegations.

> Nil immundius est tuis libellis,
> Nil obscenius, impudiciusque;
> Et vis te tamen ut putemus esse
> Numa Fabricioque sanctiorem.
> At sententia nostra ea est, Noalli,
> Quisquis versibus exprimit Catullum,
> Raro moribus exprimit Catonem.
>
> MURETI Opera, tom. i, p. 705.

i For the benefit of studious youth, a complete edition of the *Hermaphroditus* of Antonius Beccatellus of Palermo has at length been published, in a collection entitled *Quinque Illustrium Poetarum Lusus in Venerem.*

us, and Bembus, verge upon the very extremity of wantonness and impurity. These examples passed to other nations; Secundus, Bonefonius, and many eminent poets beside, vied with each other in the elegance of their language, and the grossness of their ideas. And, what may perhaps be regarded as still more extraordinary, in the scholastic compilations published during that period for the use of Latin versifiers, this department is very seldom neglected: the *Epithetorum Opus* of Jo. Ravisius Textor exhibits the most obscene words in the Latin language, studiously illustrated by accurate quotations from ancient and modern poets. A long train of Catholic priests have expatiated on the languors of love and the ecstacies of enjoyment: as they were doomed to perpetual celibacy, they must either have entertained a hardy contempt of moral reputation, or supposed that such productions would be regarded as mere efforts of a poetical fancy. Even the renowned queen of Navarre, who is represented as a woman of consummate virtue, did not blush to write what few modern ladies would profess to read.[k]

Paris. 1791. 8vo. It is no particular disparagement to the excellent Mr. Roscoe, that he was unacquainted with this precious collection. (*Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i, p. 71, 4th edit.)

[k] The poems of Queen Margaret, the well-known sister of Francis the first, are chiefly of a serious cast, and some of them are very pious; but in her novels, composed in imitation of Boccaccio, she indulges herself in the utmost freedom of description. She perhaps entertained an opinion similar to that of Martial:

There are some poets, says Bayle, who are equally chaste in their verses and in their conduct; others who are neither chaste in their conduct nor in their verses: some there are unchaste in their verses, and yet chaste in their conduct; and whose fire is entirely confined to the head. All their wanton liberties are sports of fancy; their Candidas and their Lesbias mistresses of fiction.[l] Dr. Stuart's suggestion ought therefore to have been delivered in more cautious terms: and Mr. Warton has likewise mentioned Buchanan's amatory verses in a manner which betrays some degree of precipitancy.[m] These observa-

Lex hæc carminibus data est jocosis,
Ne possint, nisi pruriant, juvare.

Many of her novels are apparently founded on real incidents. To omit other instances, she has given a circumstantial account of the assassination of Allessandro de' Medici. See "L'Heptameron des Nouvelles de tresillustre et tresexcellent princesse, Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre," f. 44. b, edit. de Paris, 1560, 4to. The collection of her poems bears the title of "Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, tresillustre Royne de Navarre." Lyons, 1547, 8vo. To this accomplished princess, who was equally conspicuous for her beauty and for her virtue, Buchanan has addressed one of his epigrams. (Lib. i, 11.)

[l] Bayle, Eclaircissement sur les Obscénitez, § iv.

[m] "Milton here, at an early period of life, renounces the levities of love and gallantry. This was not the case with Buchanan, who unbecomingly prolonged his *amorous descant* to graver years, and who is therefore obliquely censured by Milton in the following passage of *Lycidas*, hitherto not exactly understood, v. 67.

Were it not better done, *as others use*,
To sport with *Amaryllis* in the shade,
Or with the tangles of *Neæra's hair?*

The *Amaryllis* to whom Milton alludes, is the *Amaryllis* of Buchanan the subject of a poem called *Desiderium Lutetiæ*, a fond address of consi-

tions, which are merely historical, do not insinuate the expediency of following a bad example, however prevalent. Buchanan has repeatedly expressed his compunction for having been guilty of such levity ;[n] nor is it incumbent on his biographer to commend the youthful sallies which he himself condemned in his graver years. By some authors, and particularly by Mr. Benson,[o] his delinquency has however been described in terms of illiberal and absurd exaggeration.

While he presided over St. Leonard's College,

derable length from an importunate lover.... It is allowed that the common poetical name, *Amaryllis*, might have been naturally and accidentally adopted by both poets; nor does it at first sight appear, that Milton used it with any restrictive or implicit meaning. But Buchanan had another mistress whom he calls *Neæra*, whose golden hair makes a very splendid figure in his verses, and which he has complimented more than once in the most hyperbolical style." (Warton's *Notes on Milton*, p. 474, 2d edit.) That Buchanan prolonged his amorous descant to graver years than Milton, cannot be denied ; but the opinion which he entertained of his love verses during a more advanced period of life, ought not to be overlooked. These notions Mr. Warton seems to have adopted too rashly. The Amaryllis of Buchanan is not his mistress, but the city of Paris; and Neæra was the mistress of Tibullus, Marullus, Secundus, Bonefonius, and five hundred poets beside. The allusion of Milton, with due deference to his commentator, is more simple and obvious: Amaryllis and Neæra are names very generally adopted by pastoral and elegiac poets; the question which Milton asks therefore is, whether it were not better to apply himself to the composition of amatory pastorals or of love elegies.

[n] " Argumenta enim fere levia sunt, et quorum hanc ætatem nescio pigeat magis an pudeat." (Buchanani *Epistolæ*, p. 5.) "Elegias, Silvas, ac pleraque Epigrammata amicis poscentibus dedi, quorum nomina hic subjicere non est necesse. Hæc omnia, si per amicos licuisset, sempiternæ oblivioni consecrassem." (*Ibid.* p. 25.)

[o] Benson's Comparison betwixt Johnston and Buchanan, p. 42.

he appears to have enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the university. The public register bestows upon him the honourable title for which he was indebted to Stephanus. In 1566 and the two ensuing years, he was one of the four electors of the rector; and was nominated a prorector by each of the three officers who were successively chosen.[p] For several years, he was likewise dean of faculty.[q]

Of the general assembly of the national church, convened at Edinburgh on the twenty-fifth of December 1563, Buchanan had sat as a member; and had even been appointed one of the commissioners for revising "The Book of Discipline." In that commission he had been associated with the Earl Marischal, Lord Ruthven, the bishop of Orkney, and several other persons of distinction.[r] He was also a member of the assembly which met at Edinburgh on the twenty-fifth of June 1567; and on that occasion had the honour, though a layman, of being chosen moderator.[s]

The nation was now in a state of anarchy; and Buchanan was soon to assume the character of a politician. The late conduct of Queen Mary, whom he once regarded in so favourable a light, had offered such flagrant insults to virtue and de-

[p] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 65.
[q] Sibbaldus, p. 16.
[r] Love's Vindication of Buchanan, p. 61.
[s] Keith's Hist. of Scotland, p. 572.

corum, that his attachment was at length converted into antipathy. Having placed her affections on the earl of Bothwell, a man of the most profligate manners, she deemed it expedient to remove every object which might obstruct their mutual views. The pusillanimous and ill-fated king was murdered on the tenth of February 1567; and it is but too evident that his deluded consort was not unacquainted with the nefarious plot by which he fell. The nation indignantly pointed to the actual murderer; but she protected him from the vengeance of the law, and distinguished him by public marks of her favour. On the twenty-fourth of April, Bothwell, accompanied by a numerous train of horsemen, seized the person of his sovereign; and her conduct very clearly evinced that this expedient had either been suggested by herself, or at least had been adopted with her entire approbation. Having precipitately obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, his infamous nuptials with the queen were solemnized on the fifteenth of May, about three months after he had assassinated her former husband. A series of actions so unprecedented and so atrocious could not fail of producing unbounded indignation. But the schemes of Bothwell were not yet accomplished: his extreme solicitude to secure the person of the young prince, excited new apprehensions; and a powerful confederacy was at length formed for the purpose of

defeating the design which he had evidently conceived. Both parties had recourse to arms, and Mary followed her new husband to the field. But when the hostile armies encountered each other, he found his followers so little disposed to engage, that he abandoned the queen in the midst of her parley with the confederates, and quitted the scene with precipitation. She now found herself in the power of her indignant subjects; and was certainly exposed to treatment which cannot be remembered to their honour. As her undiminished passion for the ruffian who had destroyed her peace and her reputation, would not permit her to yield to their proposal of dissolving so indecent a marriage, they readily perceived the consequences of suffering her to retain that power which she had abused. They formed the resolution of securing her person; and she was committed to strict custody in the castle of Lochlevin. Her policy induced her to accede to the proposition of resigning her crown, and to invest her natural brother the earl of Murray with the regency. On the second of May 1568, she escaped from her prison; and soon afterwards found herself at the head of a numerous army. The defeat at Langside terminated her prospects of being speedily reinstated in her authority. She now retired into England, where she hoped to find an asylum: but she soon discovered that she had reposed her confidence in a most perfidious

and cruel rival. Having incautiously offered to submit her cause to the cognisance of the English queen, she thus furnished a pretext for degrading her to the level of an English subject; and she was most ungenerously detained in a state of captivity. Elizabeth required the regent to empower delegates to appear before her commissioners; but as his principal adherents declined so hazardous an office, he was reduced to the ignominious necessity of attending in person. His associates in this commission were the earl of Morton, Bothwell bishop of Orkney, Lord Lindsay, and Pitcairne commendator of Dunfermline. He was also accompanied by Buchanan, Maitland of Lethington, Balnaves of Hallhill, Macgill of Rankeilor, and some other individuals of inferior attainments. Balnaves and Macgill bore the character of able civilians; and the abilities of Maitland were of the first order. The delegates nominated by the unfortunate queen were Dr. John Lesley, bishop of Ross, a man eminently distinguished for his talents and learning, Lord Livingston, Lord Boyd, Lord Herreis, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cockburn of Skirling, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning. On the fourth of October 1568, the conference was opened at York before the commissioners of Elizabeth, but in the course of the ensuing month it was transferred to Westminster. This singular transaction was managed with great ad-

dress on both sides. Nor was Buchanan the least powerful of Murray's coadjutors: he composed in Latin a detection of Queen Mary's actions, which was produced to the commissioners at Westminster,[t] and was afterwards circulated with great industry by the English court. His engaging in a task of this kind, as well as his mode of executing it, has frequently been urged as a proof of his moral depravity; and, to augment his delinquency, the benefits conferred upon him by the queen have been multiplied with much ingenuity.[u] It is certain that she granted him the tem-

[t] Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i, p. 161, 241, 2d edit.

[u] "On the head," says Dr. Stuart, "of his ingratitude to Mary, the evidences, I fear, admit not of any doubt or palliation. Mary invited him from France to Scotland with a view that he should take the charge of the education of her son; and till James should be of a proper age to receive instruction, she appointed him to be chief master of St. Leonard's College in the university of St. Andrews." (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 246.) These assertions are well combined, and are only liable to one material objection. That Mary invited him from France, nominated him preceptor to her son, and appointed him principal of St. Leonard's College, are bold surmises totally unsupported by evidence. In the common editions of Buchanan's life, he is said to have been appointed the preceptor of King James "anno millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto." These words however are most evidently an interpolation; and in some of the earlier editions, for example those printed at Herborn in 1616 and 1624, they do not occur. James was not born till the nineteenth of June 1566; nor was Buchanan appointed his preceptor till after Mary had been expelled from the kingdom. Mr. Chalmers has employed what he deems a conclusive argument of his having nevertheless been indebted to the queen for his original nomination. "Buchanan says expressly in his history [p. 386.], 'Ut ex iis, quos *mater*, antequam se regno abdicarat, filio tutores nominaverat." (Chalmers, p. 329.) The learned critic evidently supposes the Latin word *tutor* to signify a preceptor; with what accuracy, no school-boy need be informed. By referring a few

poralties of the abbey of Crossragwell; and beyond this single point the evidence cannot be extended. Nor was this reward bestowed on a man who had performed no correspondent services. He had officiated as her classical tutor, and had composed various poems for the entertainment of the Scotish court: but the immortal dedication of his psalms was alone equivalent to any reward which she conferred. If Buchanan celebrated her in his poetical capacity, and before she ceased to be an object of praise, it certainly was not incumbent upon him to approve the atrocious actions which she afterwards performed.[x] The duty which he owed to his country was a prior consideration; and with that duty, his further adherence to the infatuated princess was utterly incompatible.

The earl of Murray and his associates returned to Scotland in the beginning of the ensuing year. This work of Buchanan,[y] which was not publish-

pages back, he might have discovered that the *tutores* or guardians nominated by the queen were the duke of Chatelherault, and the earls of Murray, Lennox, Argyle, Athole, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar. (Buchanan. *Rerum Scotic. Hist.* p. 365.

[x] Nunquam ita quisquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit,
Quin res, ætas, usus semper aliquid apportet novi,
Aliquid moneat: ut illa quæ te scire credas, nescias,
Et quæ tibi putaris prima, in experiundo ut repudies.

TERENTIUS.

[y] De Maria Scotorum Regina, totaque ejus contra Regem conjuratione, fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate et rabie, horrendo insuper et deterrimo ejusdem parricidio, plena, et tra-

ed till 1571, seems to have been intrusted to Dr. Thomas Wilson; who is supposed, with great plausibility, to have added the "Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam," and the Latin translation of Mary's first three letters to the earl of Bothwell.[z] From a manuscript notice inserted in a copy which belonged to Mr. Herbert, it appears that the *Actio* was by some ascribed to Sir Thomas Smith, but by the annotator himself to Wilson,[a] of whom he must apparently be supposed to have had some personal knowledge.

gica plane Historia. 8vo.—This unclassical title, as Mr. Laing suggests, must have been fabricated by the editor. A translation, with the following title, soon afterwards made its appearance. "Ane Detectiovn of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell: and ane Defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis Graces *ctioun* and *aurhaoritie*. Translated out of the Latine quhilke was written by G. B." 8vo. Black letter. These two publications are without date, place, or printer's name; but they are supposed to have issued from the press of John Day. The first of them appears to have been circulated at London before the first of November 1571; the second before the close of the same month. (Laing, vol. i, p. 242, 243.) This translation was unskilfully executed by some Englishman, in imitation of the Scotish idiom and orthography. It was afterwards transformed into the genuine Scotish language, and reprinted at St. Andrews. "Ane Detectioun of the Doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis," &c. *Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekprevick*, 1572. Black letter. The Scotish version occurs in Mr. Anderson's *Collections*, vol. II: but with respect to the history of the publication, this editor has committed more than one mistake. Other three editions of the English detection, but in a modernized style, appeared at London in 1651, 1689, and 1721. A French translation bears, in the title page, "A Edimbourg par Thomas Waltem, 1572." It appears to have been printed by the Huguenots at Rochelle. (Laing, vol. i, p. 256, 259.)

[z] Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i, p. 243.

[a] Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii, p. 1629.

Wilson was at that time master of the requests, and afterwards secretary of state. Some of the sentiments, and the general texture of the composition, are such as cannot easily be supposed to have proceeded from Buchanan; and, in the present enquiry, it is of more consequence to ascertain that it was not written by him, than who was its real author. "It resumes," says Mr. Laing, "the detail of the same facts contained in the Detection, with the tedious repetition natural to one author, when retracing the footsteps of another, whom he strives only to surpass in violence: superadding such local description, and vulgar reports as a keen enquirer, who had visited Scotland in person, might collect from Lesly, and other Scots, whom he examined on the subject. The Detection is a concise historical deduction of facts; a rapid narrative, written with that chaste and classical precision of thought and language, from which each sentence acquires an appropriate idea, distinct from the preceding, neither anticipated, repeated, nor intermixed with others; and the style is so strictly historical, that the work is incorporated in Buchanan's history almost without alteration. But the Action against Mary is a dull declamation, and a malignant invective, written in professed imitation of the ancient orators, whom Buchanan has never imitated; without arrangement of parts, coherence, or a regular train of ideas; and without a single

passage which Buchanan, in his history, has deigned to transcribe. A man inured to extemporary eloquence, whose mind is accustomed only to popular arguments, and his tongue to prompt, and loose declamation, never writes with such lucid arrangement, with such accuracy of thought, or compression of style, as a professed author, who thinks no labour too great for what is bequeathed to posterity; and the virulent Action against Mary no more resembles Buchanan's Detection, than the coarse and verbose ribaldry of Whitaker, or the elegant yet diffuse rhapsodies of Burke and Bolingbroke, the correct and classical precision of Junius or Hume."[b]

The regent, to whom Buchanan was so cordially attached, did not long survive those transactions. On the twenty-third of January 1570, he was shot in the street of Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whom his clemency had formerly rescued from an ignominious death.[c] The assassin had been confirmed in his inhuman enterprize by the approbation of his powerful kinsmen. The indignation of Buchanan was naturally roused against the house of Hamilton; and he had sufficient cause to suspect that their purposes were not yet completely effected. Under these impressions, he addressed an admoni-

[b] Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i, p. 247.

[c] Buchanan has written the earl's elogium and epitaph in very affectionate terms. (*Rerum Scotic. Hist.* p. 385. *Epigram.* lib. ii, 29.)

tion to the faithful peers ;[d] in which he earnestly adjured them to protect the young king, and the children of the late regent, from the perils which seemed to await them. It was apparently in the course of the same year, 1570, that he composed another Scotish tract, entitled *Chamæleon*.[e] In this satirical production, he very successfully exposes the wavering politics of the famous secretary Maitland. The secretary, who was justly alarmed at the prospect of being publicly exhibited in such glaring colours. entertained a suspicion that the work was to issue from the press of Robert

[d] Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis, Mantenaris of the Kingis Graces Authoritie. M. G. B. *Imprentit at Striviling be Robert Lekprevick*, 1571, 8vo.—Mr. Laing remarks that another edition was printed by Lekprevick in the course of the same year ; and a third was "imprinted at London by Iohn Daye, accordyng to the Scotish copie," 1571, 8vo. This tract is inserted in *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii, p. 395. "The MS. copy of it in the Cottonian library," says Mr. Goodall, "is dated 1570: and it is probable that it was first printed that year. There is another edition of it by Lekprevick in 1571, which has a new paragraph concerning a pretended third conspiracy of Sir James Hamilton, which is neither in the MS. nor in the first edition, nor in the later editions by Mr. Ruddiman or Mr. Burman." *(Examination*, vol. i, p. 342.) This writer first supposes, and without any necessity, that the admonition was printed in 1570: in the course of the next sentence, he assumes that it actually was printed during that year, and even speaks as if he had inspected the imaginary edition: and lastly he quotes other two editions which never existed ; for the work in question was neither republished by Ruddiman nor by Burman. This is a very adequate specimen of Mr. Goodall's mode of writing ; nor shall I again advert to his misconceptions and misrepresentations.

[e] Of Buchanan's *Chamæleon*, the copy preserved among the Cotton MSS. bears the date of 1570. This tract was first printed in the *Miscellanea Scotica*. Lond. 1710, 8vo. It occurs in both editions of the author's works.

Lekprevick; and on the fourteenth of April 1571, his emissary Captain Melvin searched, for the third time, that printer's house in Edinburgh. This search took place about eleven o'clock on a Saturday night; but Lekprevick being warned of his danger, had previously disappeared with such papers as seemed to threaten disagreeable consequences.[f] The *Chamæleon*, if it was actually delivered to the printer, seems to have been suppressed by Maitland's vigilance; for it remained in manuscript till the beginning of last century. The style of these two productions is at least equal in vigour and elegance to that of any other composition in the ancient Scotish language; though it is sufficiently obvious that the happy genius of the author cannot there appear in its genuine splendour. "When we read," says an accomplished and able writer, "the compositions of Buchanan in his native tongue, how completely are his genius and taste obscured by those homely manners which the coarseness of his dialect recals; and how difficult is it to believe that they express the ideas and sentiments of the same writer, whose Latin productions vie with the best models of antiquity!"[g]

Soon after the assassination of his illustrious friend, Buchanan was removed to a situation of no inconsiderable importance; he was appointed

[f] Dalyell's Illustrations of Scotish History, p. 130. Edinb. 1806, 8vo.
[g] Stewart's Life of Robertson, p. 43. Edinb. 1801, 8vo.

one of the preceptors of the young king. For this preferment he was apparently indebted to the privy council, and others of the nobility and gentry, who assembled in consequence of that disasterous event, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of the nation.[h] Having appeared before the council, he resigned his office of principal in favour of his friend Patrick Adamson, probably the famous poet who was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews.[i] The circumstance of his being permitted to nominate a successor, may be considered as an additional proof of the high estimation in which his character was held. The privy council now admitted Adamson to the principality; but it does not appear from the univers-

[h] The act of privy council, which Mr. Ruddiman has inserted in his notes on Buchanan's life, commences thus: "The Lords of Secret Council and others of the Nobility and Estates, being conveened for taking order in the affairs of this common-wealth, among other matters being carefull of the King's Majestie's preservation and good education, and considering how necessary the attendance of Mr. George Buchanan, Master of St. Leonard's Colledge within the University of St. Andrews, upon his Highness shall be, and that it behoves the said Mr. George to withdraw himself from his charge of the said colledge," &c. This record afterwards mentions the priory of St. Andrews as being without a commendator. The arrangement must therefore have taken place soon after the regent's death. "As to its date," says Mr. Ruddiman, "I found none at the act itself; only at the top of the page is marked 1569." (*Animadversions*, p. 67.) Our ancestors terminated the year on the twenty-fourth of March.

[i] "He therefore compearing personally in presence of the said Lords of the Council, Nobility, and others of the Estates above-written, at their desire, and of his own freewill and proper motive, demitted and gave over his charge and place of Master of the said Colledge in the favours of his well-beloved Master Patrick Adamson, *and no otherwise*."

ity records that he ever exercised his new functions.

The prince had been committed during his infancy to the charge of the earl of Mar, a nobleman of the most unblemished integrity. In 1570, when Buchanan entered upon his office, he was only four years of age. The chief superintendence of his education was intrusted to the earl's brother Sir Alexander Erskine, "a gallant well-natur'd gentleman, loved and honoured by all men." The preceptors associated with Buchanan were Peter Young, and the two abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both related to the noble family of Mar. Young was respectable for his capacity and learning. His disposition was naturally mild; and his prudent attention to his future interest rendered him cautious of offending a pupil, who was soon to be the dispenser of public favours. He was afterwards employed in several political transactions of importance, obtained the honour of knighthood, and received an annual pension of considerable amount.[k] The lofty and independent spirit of Buchanan was not to be controlled by the mere suggestions of cold caution; the honourable task which the voice of his country had assigned to his old age, he discharged with simple integrity, and was little so-

[k] An account of the life of Sir Peter Young may be found in Dr. Thomas Smith's *Vitæ quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrium Virorum*. Lond. 1707, 4to.

licitous what impression the strictness of his discipline might leave on the mind of his royal pupil.[l] James, who was of a timid nature, long remembered the commanding aspect which his illustrious preceptor had assumed.[m] Of the un-

[l] "Now the young king," says Sir James Melvil, "was brought up in Sterling by Alexander Areskine and my Lady Mar. He had four principal masters, Mr. George Buchuanan, Mr. Peter Young, the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Drybrugh, descended from the house of Areskine. The laird of Drumwhasel was master of his household. Alexander Areskine was a gallant well natur'd gentleman, loved and honoured by all men, for his good qualities and great discretion, no ways factious nor envious, a lover of all honest men, and desired ever to see men of good conversation about the prince, rather then his own nearer friends, if he found them not so meet. The laird of Drumwhasel again was ambitious and greedy, his greatest care was to advance himself and his friends. The two abbots were wise and modest. My Lady Mar was wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe; and so did Mr. George Buchuanan. Mr. Peter Young was more gentle, and was loath to offend the king at any time, carrying himself warily, as a man who had a mind to his own weal, by keeping of his majesty's favour: but Mr. George was a Stoick philosopher, who looked not far before him. A man of notable endowments for his learning and knowlege of Latin poesie, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted." (Melvil's *Memoires*, p. 125. Lond. 1683, fol.) This is the first edition of the book; but Melvil was the cotemporary, though not, as Mr. Innes asserts, the intimate friend of Buchanan.

[m] "King James," says Francis Osborn, "used to say of a person in high place about him, that he ever trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his pedagogue." (*Advice to a Son*, p. 19.) "For his knowledge," says John Hall, "he had some glancings and nibblings, which the severity of the excellent Buchanan forced into him in his younger time, and after conversation somewhat polish'd." (*Grounds and Reasons of Monarchy*, p. 30.) This tract Mr. Toland has inserted in his edition of "The Oceana of James Harrington, and his other Works." Lond. 1700, fol.

courtly discipline to which he was subjected, two instances have been recorded; but with regard to their authenticity, every enquirer shall be left to decide for himself. The king having caught a fancy for a tame sparrow which belonged to his play-fellow the [a]*master* of Mar, solicited him without effect to transfer his right: and in endeavouring to wrest it out of his hand, he deprived the poor little animal of life. Erskine having raised due lamentation for its untimely fate, the circumstances were reported to Buchanan; who lent his young sovereign a box on the ear, and admonished him that he was himself a true bird of the bloody nest to which he belonged. A theme which had one day been prescribed to the royal pupil, was the conspiracy of the earl of Angus and other noblemen during the reign of James the third. After dinner, he was diverting himself with the master of Mar: and as Buchanan, who in the mean time was intent on reading, found himself annoyed by their obstreperous mirth, he requested the king to desist; but as no attention was paid to the suggestion, he threatened to accompany his next injunction with something more forcible than words. James, whose ear had been tickled by the quaint application of the apologue mentioned in his theme, replied that he should be glad to see who would *bell the cat*. His venerable preceptor, who

[a] See Wallace on Ancient Peerages, p. 424.

might have pardoned the remark, was perhaps offended with the mode in which it was uttered: he threw aside his book with indignation, and bestowed upon the delinquent that species of sholastic discipline which is deemed most ignominious. The countess of Mar, being attracted by the wailing which ensued, hastened to the scene of his disgrace; and taking the precious deposit in her arms, she demanded of Buchanan how he presumed to lay his hand upon "the Lord's anointed?" To this interrogation he is said to have returned an answer, that contained a very unceremonious antithesis relative to the part which had received the chastisement.° A man who was no stranger to polished society, can hardly be suspected of such unpoliteness to a lady; unless we suppose her to have assumed a degree of insolence which rendered it expedient to convince her, by an overwhelming proof, that he disowned her authority.

The young monarch's proficiency in letters was such as reflected no discredit on his early instructors. He undoubtedly acquired a very considerable portion of scholastic knowledge, and attained to the command of a fluent and not inelegant style. By some of the most illustrious of his cotemporaries, he has even been extolled as a prodigy of erudition: but the commenda-

° Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii, p. 180.—"Madam, I have whipt his ....; you may kiss it if you please."

tions bestowed upon a living potentate are generally to be received with the utmost caution. His literary attainments are however commemorated in terms of respect by several eminent writers, who cannot be suspected of the same partiality of judgment. Dr. Parr admits that he was possessed of no contemptible share of learning;[p] and an admirable historian mentions his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον with appropriate praise. "Notwithstanding," says Dr. Robertson, "the great alterations and refinements in national taste since that time, we must allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to the works of most cotemporary writers, either in purity of style or justness of composition." His works are numerous, and of various denominations.[q]

That he should regard the memory of his preceptor with any unusual degree of affection, could not reasonably be expected. The character of his mother Buchanan had discussed in a very unceremonious style; and, in return, James has repeatedly mentioned the name of Buchanan with very little reverence.[r] The royal author con-

[p] Parr, præf. in Bellendenum, p. lxiii.

[q] An imperfect account of the literary character of King James may be found in *The Lives of the Scotish Poets*, vol. ii, p. 209.

[r] K. James's Workes, p. 176, 480. Lond. 1616, fol.—Buchanan seems to have been a favourite author of a much greater monarch. The subsequent anecdote of Gustaf Adolf it would be improper to overlook. "Some days afterwards he invested Elbingen, where the defendants were almost equal in number to those that assailed them. And here the king gave a fresh proof, both of his good nature and contempt of danger; for whilst

demns his history of Scotland as an infamous invective; and admonishes his heir apparent to punish such of his future subjects as should be guilty of retaining it in their custody. James is to be considered as one of Buchanan's most formidable enemies. The only son of an ill-fated princess was naturally solicitous to wash away the foul spots of her reputation; and, with this view, he exerted all the powerful influence attached to his sceptre. Men of letters who courted his favour, were too easily induced to consider his mother's fame as immaculate; and as her reputation was incompatible with that of her principal accuser, the next step of expediency was to convict Buchanan in the most summary manner. His strong antipathy cannot indeed excite much surprize; but it would perhaps have been more magnanimous to suppress his indignation against a preceptor, who had discharged his duty with the most conscientious solicitude.[s] Of the future

the commander and burgomaster were signing a capitulation in the royal tent, he walked up to the town-gates, and desired to be admitted within the walls upon courteous terms. He then asked pardon of the inhabitants for not making his appearance in a better suit of apparel, and conveying himself from the crowd, in the midst of their admiration, stepped unnoticed into a bookseller's shop, and desired the honest man to supply him with an edition of Buchanan's poems." Harte's *Hist. of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i, p. 81. Lond. 1759, 2 vols. 4to.)

[s] Tuque, parens patriæ, nisi deliquisset in uno,
Quid de te vatem non meruisse putas?
Imbuit ille animum studiis, et regibus olim
Invia Pieridum per juga rexit iter:

glory of his pupil, and the attendant felicity of his country, Buchanan seems to have cherished many a fond and anxious hope; but all his labours proved abortive, and his expectations deceitful. The understanding of James, which had presented no unfavourable dawn, was naturally opaque; and the malignant influence of courtly adulation speedily counteracted the effect of those salutary maxims of virtue and polity, with which it was the perpetual solicitude of Buchanan to fortify his tender mind. From the mature wisdom of his instructor, he might have imbibed the durable principles of a legitimate sovereignty; might have learned to secure his own glory, to provide for the future peace of his race, and to consider the happiness of his people as the most splendid object of regal ambition. But his notions of prerogative, after having been fostered by a more genial atmosphere, became at length so utterly extravagant as to approach the borders of phrensy. In his native country, he was frequently treated with the utmost contempt; but England had long been habituated to the tyranny of the house of Tudor. His son inherited his

Finxit et os tenerum puero, quo pectora mulces,
Quosque regis populos non sinis esse feros:
Os dedit, et dignos formavit principe mores,
Et docuit quæ vos sæpe latere solent;
Quid rex privato, quid distet rege tyrannus;
Quid populus regi debeat, ille Deo.

JONSTONI Poemata, p. 186.

political errors as well as his crown: though the royal family scorned improvement, the rest of the nation had begun to sicken at perpetual encroachment and submission; and the ensuing struggle, which was unquestionably followed by remote consequences of a salutary nature, involved the death of a monarch whose faults, though of the first magnitude, were faults of education. If the pupil of Buchanan had been worthy of such a preceptor, the royal house of Stewart might still have swayed the sceptre of their ancestors.[t]

One of the earliest propensities which he discovered, was an excessive attachment to favourites; and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendency during every stage of his life. His facility in complying with every request alarmed the prophetic sagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew,[u] Chytræus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpose of correcting his pupil's conduct. He presented the young king with two papers, which he requested him to sign; and James, after having slightly interrogated him respecting their contents, readily appended his signature to each,

[t] Dr. Smith has published a brief sketch of the method of study prescribed to the royal pupil. (*Vita Petri Junii*, p. 6.)

[u] This was a fraternal nephew of Buchanan's. Alexander Morison, the son of one of his sisters, published a new edition of Buchanan's paraphrase. (Jos. Scaligeri *Opuscula*, p. 287, *Poemata*, p. 50.)

without the precaution of even a cursory perusal. One of them was a formal transference of the regal authority for the term of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal presence, one of the courtiers accosted him with his usual salutation: but to this astonished nobleman he announced himself in the new character of a sovereign; and with that happy urbanity of humour for which he was so distinguished, he began to assume the high demeanour of royalty. He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan admonished him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprize; for he now began to suspect his preceptor of mental derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and, with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting to petitions in so rash a manner.

About the period when he was nominated preceptor to the king, other marks of distinction were conferred upon him. His first civil appointment, which he seems to have retained but a short while, was that of director of the chancery.[x] The keeper of the privy seal, John af-

[x] Scot's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen, p. 109.—As Sir John Scot soon afterwards held the same office, it is not to be supposed that he could easily be mistaken in an assertion of this kind. Mr. Chalmers has

terwards Lord Maitland,[y] having been deprived of his office on account of his adherence to the unfortunate queen, it was very laudably conferred on Buchanan, in the year 1570.[z] The earl of Lennox was at that time regent. His situation as lord privy seal was undoubtedly honourable, and probably lucrative. It entitled him to a seat in parliament.[a] This office he retained for the space of several years. On the thirtieth of April 1578, he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew Thomas, the son of Alexander Buchanan of Ibbert;[b] but that measure seems only to have been adopted for the purpose of securing the reversion. For in the month of June, he voted in parliament for the abbot of Dunfermline's being sent as ambassador to the English court; and in that of July, for the earl of Morton's being excluded from the king's council.[c] So late as the year 1580, one of his correspondents addresses him by the title

however *convinced himself* that Buchanan never was director of the chancery, because his admission to the office cannot be traced in the records. This acute writer must have forgotten that "the most diligent search could not find the appointment of Buchanan to" another high situation, which he most unquestionably enjoyed.

[y] Lord Maitland of Thirlstane, high chancellor of Scotland, was the son of Sir Richard Maitland, and the brother of Buchanan's friend Thomas Maitland; all of whom are still remembered as poets. This family has long been distinguished for its talents and literature; and I need only add that its present representative is the earl of Lauderdale.

[z] Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 252. Edinb. 1716, fol. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 394. Edinb. 1764, fol.

[a] Wight on Elections, p. 66.

[b] Chalmers, p. 338.

[c] Chalmers, p. 339, 340.

of preceptor and counsellor to the king of Scotland.[d]

With the three former regents he was cordially connected; but the conduct of Morton had deservedly excited his patriotic indignation. It was by the seasonable counsel of Buchanan and Sir Alexander Erskine, that the king had been induced to depose him from his office,[e] which however he afterwards succeeded in regaining. The situation of Scotland during that unhappy period is sufficiently known. It was the policy of Elizabeth to exert over this country a very unwarrantable influence; and the anticipation of a speedy union might perhaps have considerable tendency to reconcile many upright men to her views. A list of twenty-four persons in Scotland whom she proposed to attach by pensions is still preserved.[f] One hundred pounds was the gratuity intended for Buchanan; and several noble earls are not there valued at a higher price. But it is far from being certain that this pension was ever conferred; nor is any material inference to be rashly deduced from the insertion of his name in the scrolls of a political projector, residing in a different kingdom.

Buchanan was equally consulted as a politician and as a scholar. The inconveniences which

[d] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 27.
[e] Melvil's Memoires, p. 126.
[f] Chalmers, p. 343.

were found to result from the use of a multiplicity of Latin grammars in the different schools of the kingdom, having been represented to the young monarch, a committee of learned men was appointed to deliberate respecting a competent remedy. Buchanan presided; and his coadjutors were Peter Young, Andrew Simpson, and James Carmichael. They assembled in the royal palace of Stirling; and while they continued to exercise their commission, were suitably entertained at the charge of the king. Having found the grammars commonly in use to be extremely defective, it was resolved that three of their number should attempt to establish a more rational standard. Simpson,[g] who was schoolmaster and afterwards minister of Dunbar, undertook the rudiments; Carmichael, who was likewise a schoolmaster, what is improperly termed etymology; and to Buchanan was assigned the department of prosody.[h] The respective tracts of these grammarians were in due time committed to the press; but they did not long continue to be received as the standard introduction to the Latin language. The expediency of the legislature interfering in a case of this kind, may very safely be called in question. From the promiscuous use of different elementary treatises, some

[g] David Hume of Godscroft inscribes his elegies "Ad Andream Symonidem ludimagistrum Dumbarensem præceptorem suum."

[h] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 16.

inconveniences undoubtedly will arise: but if certain grammars were to be authoritatively intruded on all the schools of a kingdom, no future opportunity would be left for that gradual improvement, which may be expected in every department of human art. If King James's regulations, which were probably authorized by an order of council, had continued to be enforced with any degree of rigour, the grammatical works of Ruddiman might never have been undertaken. If the Scotish geometers had been compelled to adhere to a particular text-book, Euclid would in all probability never have been illustrated by the labours of Dr. Simson and Mr. Playfair.

In the month of July 1578, the parliament granted a commission "to certain noble, reverend, worshipful, and discreet persons, to visit and consider the foundations and erections of the universities and colleges within this realm; to reform such things as sounded to superstition, idolatry, and popery; to displace unqualified and unfit persons from the discharge of their offices in the said universities; and to establish such qualified and worthy persons therein as they should find good and sufficient for the education of youth." These commissioners having failed to convene at the time specified, the business was consequently delayed; but it was afterwards expedited by a

remonstrance from the general assembly. The delegates of the church particularized the university of St. Andrews as a proper subject for the first experiment of reformation: and the privy council enjoined the heads of that university to repair to Edinburgh on a certain day, and to submit their charters to the inspection of a commission which was now appointed. The commissioners who acted upon this occasion were the earl of Lennox, Robert commendator of Dunfermline, George Buchanan, James Haliburton, and Peter Young. Having found much to alter and redress, they subscribed a memorial, dated on the eighth of November 1579; and their scheme of reformation was ratified by parliament on the eleventh of the same month. This very curious memorial, which is written in the Scotish language, is known to have been the production of Buchanan.[1] The general plan is very skilfully delineated; and it evidently presupposed the nation to abound in men of learn-

[1] A "Copie of George Bucannan's Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Androis, written with his owne hand *in anno* 1579, *ut intus*," is preserved in the Advocates Library. Buchanan's memorial is recited at length in the act of ratification; which Mr. Chalmers has inserted in his appendix. For this notice respecting the manuscript, I am indebted to my excellent friend Mr. NINIAN LITTLE, to whom these memoirs have many other obligations. Mr. Little, I may here observe in passing, has suggested to me that the commendatory verses beginning, "Nomen ab ore tibi," which were printed anonymously among the testimonies collected by Dr. Barclay, are the production of an Italian author. (Petri Bizzari *Opuscula*, *f.* 110. Venet. 1565, 8vo.)

ing. The act of parliament which ratified Buchanan's scheme was afterwards repealed, in consequence of the confusion and uncertainty which the academics pretended to have arisen from the introduction of such material alterations. But they may fairly be suspected of having been unwilling to pursue the arduous path of erudition which had been prescribed: it was more easy to observe the old formalities of the schools, than to embrace so large a plan of discipline. The former act was repealed on the fourth of August 1621; and the general principles of the repealing statute are such as might have been expected from one of King James's parliaments. To these legislators it seemed "most equitable that the will of the founders should take effect, except where the same is repugnant to the true religion presently professed within this kingdom." But it was certainly as far remote from the will of the founders, that their colleges should ever become seminaries of any new religion, as that the plan of scholastic discipline originally prescribed should be subjected to salutary innovations. If in one instance it was absolute sacrilege to violate the tenor of their bequest, it must in all other instances have been the same. But as it had been found expedient to supersede their regulations with respect to the very essential article of religion, it ought likewise to have occurred to the legislature, that to banish un-

profitable modes of study was a measure not less consistent with equity. Whatever may be their genuine origin, it is always proper to consider foundations of this kind as having originated in the pure motives of benevolence and public spirit; and to promote their correspondence with the progressive nature of man, must be deemed perfectly consistent with the general principles which their authors ostensibly entertain.

The merit of Buchanan, as must already have appeared, was not overlooked by his countrymen; and his consequence abroad had been increased by the respect which he secured at home. From the general state of religious opinions in the nation, as well as from the conspicuous character of the royal instructor, the Protestants on the continent seem to have conceived early hopes of finding in the Scotish monarch a powerful accession to the common cause. So considerable was the influence of this illustrious scholar, that his favour was even solicited by the king of Navarre, afterwards so famous by the title of Henry the Great. In a letter addressed to Buchanan, that accomplished prince requested him to instil into the tender mind of his pupil, such sentiments as might conduce to their future attachment. This letter he intrusted to his faithful adherent Philip Mornay, a man highly distinguised for his literary[k] and political talents.

[k] Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, p, 249.

In the progress of his voyage to England, Mornay fell into the hands of pirates, and it was carried off with the rest of the plunder; but upon his arrival in London, he apprized Buchanan of his master's wishes.[l] The French Protestants were extremely solicitous for a matrimonial alliance between James and the king of Navarre's sister; and at the suggestion of several persons of that class, R. Lemacon de la Fontaine requested Buchanan to promote a scheme which might essentially contribute to the advancement of the reformed religion. Two of his letters relative to this subject have been preserved; but what encouragement the project received, is not known.[m]

Beza, the friend of Buchanan, and the terror of the Papists, addressed himself to the young king with similar views. In the year 1580, he dedicated to James one of his publications, in a strain sufficiently calculated to preëngage his attachment to the Protestant interests.[n] On this occasion, he wrote a short epistle to his early

[l] "Quæ te omnibus notum," says Mornay, "piis vero carissimum, fecit eximia virtus tua, vir clarissime, eadem regi Navarræ patrono meo in primis commendavit. Dederat is mihi literas ad te, ut quem tua educatione omnium amore dignissimum facis, tua etiam cohortatione amicissimum ipsi efficeres." (Buchanani *Epistolæ*, p. 15.) This letter is dated at London on the first of June 1577.

[m] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 27, 28.

[n] Bezæ Icones Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate Illustrium: quibus adjectæ sunt nonnullæ picturæ quas Emblemata vocant. Genevæ, 1580, 4to.

friend. " Behold, my dear Buchanan, a notable instance of double extravagance in a single act; affording an illustration of the characteristic phrensy of poets—provided you admit me to a participation of that title. I have been guilty of trifling with a serious subject, and have dedicated my trifles to a king. If with your usual politeness, and in consideration of our ancient friendship, you should undertake to excuse both these circumstances to the king, I trust the matter will have a fortunate issue: but if you refuse, I shall be disappointed in my expectations. The scope of this little work, such as it is, you will learn from the preface; namely that the king, when he shall be aware of the high expectations which he has excited in all the churches, may at the same time, delighted with those various and excellent examples, become more and more familiar with his duty. Of this work I likewise send a copy to you, that is, owls to Athens; and request you to accept it as a token of my regard. My late paraphrase of the psalms, if it has reached your country, will I hope inspire you with the design of reprinting your own, to the great advantage of the church: and, believe me, it is not so much myself as the whole church that entreats you to accelerate this scheme. Farewell, excellent man. May the Lord Jesus bless your hoary hairs more and more, and long pre-

serve you for our sake. Geneva, March the sixteenth 1580."[9]

In a former letter, Beza had congratulated him on the promising disposition of his royal pupil. "I could not suffer this safe messenger to depart without a letter, at once to convince you that, during your absence, I have carefully preserved and continually cherished your remembrance, and to offer you, or rather the whole nation, my congratulations in reference to what you have signified to our friend Scrimger; namely that you are blest with a king whose childhood has already afforded such indications of piety and every virtue, as have excited in the public mind the hope and expectation of all that is desirable. God forbid that the same mischance which not long ago befel a neighbouring nation, should befall you: but may he rather grant that Scotland, being thus possessed of a king endowed with every accomplishment of body and mind, may at length repose from the domestic wars and assassinations with which it has so long been annoyed, and enjoy the blessings of holy peace. May the same merciful father rid you of your Medea, or Athalia: for I cannot find a name suitable to her misdeeds. With respect to our affairs, you will I hope receive complete information from our friend Young. From the perusal of your psalms I have derived incredible delight: although they

[9] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 28.

are such as could only have proceeded from yourself, yet I wish, what to you will by no means be difficult, that from being good you would render them the best, or, if you please, better than the best. Farewell, excellent man, together with all the good and pious. May the Lord Jesus preserve you in health and safety. Geneva, April the twelfth 1572."[p]

These illustrious friends displayed a strong congeniality of disposition: they were animated with the same ardent spirit of independence, and were equally attached to the principles of the reformation. From the same warmth of zeal that prompted them to the pursuit of excellence, they were sometimes betrayed into a violent and intemperate style. The terms which Buchanan has applied to Queen Mary and [q]Archbishop Hamilton are such as can hardly be justified; and Beza has often treated his literary antagonists in a very reprehensible manner. Beza, like his admirable correspondent, evinced an early predilection for poetry; and he likewise executed a complete paraphrase of the psalms. Their respective versions have repeatedly been associated together;[r] but, as Le Clerc has very properly

[p] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 11, collated with Bezæ Epistolæ Theologicæ, p. 343. The variations are considerable.

[q] Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 30, 31.—The archbishop, it ought however to be recollected, was a profligate priest who had been privy to the murder of King Henry, and to that of Buchanan's patron the earl of Murray.

[r] Morgiis, 1581, 8vo. Genevæ, 1594, 8vo.

suggested, this was a comparison which Beza ought not so rashly to have hazarded.[s]

Theodorus Beza was many years younger than Buchanan: he was born on the twenty-fourth of June 1519, at Vezelay a city of Burgundy. Both his parents were noble, and he received an education suitable to his birth. Under the tuition of Melchior Wolmar, first at Orleans and afterwards at Bourges, he not only made uncommon progress in classical learning, but was also initiated into the principles of the reformed religion. Beza continued under his roof till the year 1535, when Wolmar returned to Germany, his native country. He was then remanded to Orleans for the purpose of studying jurisprudence; but this was a pursuit for which he entertained no affection; and instead of spending his eyes on Bartolus and Baldus, he fed his youthful fancy with the strains of Homer and Virgil. Here he composed several Latin poems, which being distributed in manuscript, procured him a high reputation in that seminary. Having taken the degree of licentiate in 1539, he returned to Paris with very flattering prospects of ecclesiastical promotion. It was about this time that he became acquainted with Buchanan; for whom he seems to have cherished the highest regard. He also enjoyed the society of Turnebus, Ant. Govea, Tevius, and other dis-

[s] Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. viii, p. 128.

tinguished members of the university; and his Latin poems obtained the most flattering marks of their approbation.[t] The first edition was printed by Conradus Badius in the year 1548. This collection includes many very lascivious verses, which, although he rejected them in the next impression, his Popish adversaries were extremely solicitous to preserve from oblivion.[u] These wanton prolusions he afterwards classed among the sins of his youth; and he was destined to employ his powerful talents for much nobler purposes. Beza had completely imbibed the characteristic principles of the reformation; and although the gaiety of youth, and the allurements of wealth, rendered him somewhat irresolute, yet he was too honest to acquiesce in corruptions which were so palpable to his senses. Having adopted the resolution of entering into the open profession of the reformed faith, he bade adieu to his native country, and arrived at Geneva on the twenty-fourth of October 1548. In the course of the ensuing year, he accepted the

[t] Bezæ Epist. ad Dudithium, p. 6, ante Poematum edit. secund. *Excudebat H. Stephanus*, 1569, 8vo. In this edition are inserted some of the poems of Buchanan.

[u] The juvenile poems of Beza occur in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*, tom. iii, p. 578. His posthumous fame was vindicated by an anonymous author, in a work entitled "De Juvenilibus Theodori Bezæ Poematis Epistola ad N. C. qua Maimburgius, aliique Bezæ nominis obtrectatores accurate confutantur." Amst. 1683, 12mo. This defence indicates sufficient zeal, but is not always very judicious. It was written by Jean Graverol. (Bayle, *Oeuvres Diverses*, tom. iv, p. 606.)

Greek professorship at Lausanne. This charge he retained for the space of nine or ten years; and at the expiration of that period, removed to Geneva, where he was ordained a minister, and continued to exercise his clerical functions till the time of his death. He was also associated with his illustrious friend Calvin as a professor of theology. After having long enjoyed a very splendid reputation, he died at Geneva on the thirteenth of October 1605.[x] The zeal and talents which Beza displayed in the cause of religion, rendered him one of the most conspicuous characters of the age. He has always been enumerated among the chief pillars of the reformed church; and his proficiency in polite literature must likewise have contributed to insure Buchanan's attachment. His works are numerous and miscellaneous; and he generally writes with uncommon force and elegance. In his controversial writings, it must be acknowledged, he has frequently expressed himself without due regard to that spirit of meekness which so well becomes the followers of Jesus Christ. His treatment of Sebastian Castalio, an excellent scholar and a worthy though unfortunate man, cannot

[x] An account of his life was soon afterwards published by Antonius Fayus: it is entitled "De Vita et Obitu Clariss. Viri D. Theodori Bezæ Vezelii." Genevæ, 1606, 4to. His funeral oration was pronounced by Gaspar Laurentius, the learned editor of Hermogenes. Genevæ, 8vo. Many curious particulars respecting Beza may be found in the dictionary of Bayle.

easily be justified. With this elegant writer he was engaged in different controversies; and certainly did not hesitate to retail some of the most gross calumnies which had been propagated to his detriment. Castalio, with a degree of wisdom and humanity of which that age did not furnish too many examples, had exerted his talents to inculcate the maxims of religious toleration; and this laudable conduct ought alone to endear his memory to a more enlightened posterity. Calvin and Beza however entertained a different opinion; they evinced themselves as hostile to liberty of conscience as the most furious bigots of the Popish party. If their notions had evaporated in mere speculation, such wonderful inconsistency might have excited less regret: but they produced effects of a most deplorable kind. Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, having published a book which contained heterodox opinions, was, at the instigation of Calvin, arrested by the magistrates of Geneva, and inhumanly committed to the flames. Calvin, Beza, and the other luminaries of that church, ought to have paused for a moment upon the obvious reflection, that their doctrines respecting the punishment of heretics were an indirect vindication of all the holy butcheries perpetrated by another church, which they regarded with the most sincere detestation. Heretic is one of the most indefinite terms that belong to the univers-

al vocabulary : after having applied it to Calvin, the Romish inquisition might have doomed him to a cruel death, with at least as much equity as the Genevan inquisition extended to the unfortunate Servetus. The murder of this ingenious man must affix an everlasting stigma on the memory of those who urged his fate ; and yet, such is the natural obliquity of the human mind, many considerations must be admitted in palliation of so atrocious an action.[y] The genuine spirit of toleration is very imperfectly diffused, even in a country which has long been accustomed to boast of its illumination.

Beza has addressed one of his Latin poems to Buchanan,[z] and on various other occasions has mentioned him with high respect. One of Buchanan's hendecasyllables, inscribed to Beza, seems to have been transmitted with a present of the author's poetical works. Calvin has likewise been enumerated among the eminent characters with whom he maintained a literary intercourse:[a]

[y] It is Calvin's best apology that he adopted a hideous error from which very few of his cotemporaries were exempted The execution of Servetus was approved even by Melanchthon, so highly, and indeed so justly, extolled for his comparative moderation. In one of his epistles to Calvin, the subsequent passage occurs. " Affirmo etiam vestros magistratus juste fecisse, quod hominem blasphemum, re ordine judicata, interfecerunt." (Calvini *Epistolæ*, p. 306.) Every age has its peculiar deformities; and some of our present maxims will not fail to excite the utter astonishment of the more enlightened tribes who are yet to people the earth.

[z] Bezæ Poemata Varia, p. 18. [*Exc. H. Stephanus*], 1597, 4to.

[a] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 60.

but of their personal acquaintance, or epistolary correspondence, no evidence occurs. Buchanan has indeed written a poem entitled *Joannis Calvini Epicedium*;[b] which is quoted with satisfaction by one of Calvin's most eloquent apologists.[c]

Another of the French Protestants who courted the favour of Buchanan's pupil was Joannes Serranus. His splendid edition of Plato, consisting of three volumes in folio, was printed by H. Stephanus in the year 1578. The first volume he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, the second to King James,[d] and the third to the senate of Berne; where he had found a place of refuge. After the completion of his laborious task, he wrote to Buchanan from Lausanne on the twenty-ninth of February 1578. "Sir, although I have not had the happiness to know you except by your learned writings, I have honoured you for a long time, as do all those who love letters. In the course of last year, with the view of alleviating the misery incident to our condition, and even after the remarkable calamity of St. Bartholomew, I have endeavoured to follow your footsteps by teaching David to speak Greek; though I acknowledge that my first attempt[e] does not afford

b Buchanani Miscell. xxiv.

c Alexandri Mori Calvinus, p. 4.

d In the year 1581, H. Stephanus dedicated to King James his second edition of Xenophon.

e Psalmorum Davidis aliquot Metaphrasis Græca, Joannis Serrani. Adjuncta eregione Paraphrasis Latina Georgii Buchanani. *Excudebat H. Stephanus*, 1575, 8vo.

me any encouragement to prosecute the undertaking; as in reality I did not commence it from the hope of praise, but contented myself with the salutary effects which I experienced from it as a remedy against my inquietudes. At all events, it furnished me with a pretext for soliciting your correspondence; and I then wrote to you, without receiving any answer. Another occasion now presents itself: having, by the advice of my friends, dedicated a portion of my labour to the majesty of your king, I have been inclined thus to address you, with the view of entreating you to love one who loves and honours you; and to do me the honour of presenting these volumes to his majesty, with such a recommendation as your erudition and goodness shall deem suitable. You may thus oblige a man who will not forget this favour, but who will pray to God for your prosperity. I might find many subjects to discuss with you; but in the expectation of receiving an answer that may encourage me to familiarity, I shall pray God to bless your happy old age, and to permit you to see in your most noble pupil the accomplishment of your good desires. Recommending myself very humbly, Sir, to your good graces, I entreat you to preserve me in those of the king....I send you a copy of Plato as a testimony, if you please, of the love and honour which I bear you."[f]

[f] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 17.

Joannes Serranus who translated Plato, and Jean de Serres who wrote the inventory of the history of France,[g] are known to be the same individual, though the Latin is sufficiently remote from the French name. His version, though deficient in elegance, is commended for its fidelity and perspicuity.[h] Dr. Duport regarded him as an excellent Greek poet; and adjudged him a decided superiority over all others who had versified the psalms.[i] His Latin version of Plato, and his Greek version of select psalms, he executed at an early period of life; and high expectations were entertained of his future eminence in the department of philology.[k] But he was induced by laudable motives to apply his talents to other subjects, connected with his views as a Protestant. He is the reputed author of several anonymous works relative to the history of France;[l]

[g] Sorel, Bibliotheque Françoise, p. 338.

[h] Huetius de Interpretatione, p. 172.

[i] Duport, præf. in Metaph. Psalmorum. Cantab. 1666, 4to.

[k] "Si diu fuerit superstes," says Languet, "meo judicio, habebitur inter clarissimos viros in re literaria; nam est adhuc juvenis, et insigniter doctus." (*Epistolæ ad Sydneium*, p. 238, edit. Hailes.)

[l] Placcii Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum, tom. i, p. 282. Deckheri de Scriptis Adespotis, Pseudepigraphis, et Suppositiis, Conjecturæ, p. 262, edit. Amst. 1686, 12mo. Bælii Epistola de Scriptis Adespotis, p. 378.—The epistle of Bayle is appended to that edition of Deckherus, and is reprinted among his miscellaneous works. Serranus acknowledges himself to be the author of the commentaries "De Statu Religionis et Reipublicæ in Regno Galliæ." (Heinsii *Epistolæ Selectiores*, p. 780.) To this author Pasquier addressed two letters, on being informed that he had undertaken to write the history "de nos troubles." (*Lettres de Pasquier*, tom. ii, p. 211, 217.)

and he engaged in a pertinacious controversy with John Hay, a Scotish Jesuit of considerable note among his brethren.[m] Though thus involved in ecclesiastical warfare, he indulged the pacific hope of a general and lasting union of the great divisions in the Christian church: he was led to adopt a plan[n] which had been entertained by Erasmus, and which was afterwards revived by the piety and learning of Grotius;[o] a plan which has never been attended with the slightest degree of success, and has only procured general odium to the excellent men by whom it was so fondly cherished. The honest intentions of Serranus seem to have been strangely misrepresented;[p] and even the memory of Grotius was persecuted with deplorable malignity. Such a project indeed is evidently wild and impracticable: an infallible church can never acknowledge itself guilty of error;[q] and

[m] Sotvelli Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, p. 459.

[n] Serranus de Fide Catholica, sive Principiis Religionis Christianæ, communi omnium Christianorum consensu semper et ubique ratis. Paris. 1597, fol. *Ib.* 1607, 8vo.

[o] Erasmus de Sarcienda Ecclesiæ Concordia. Grotii Opera Theologica, tom. iii.

[p] Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 474, edit. Almeloveen. Roter. 1709, fol.—What is stated by Cardinal du Perron with respect to his abjuration of the Protestant faith, seems to be totally destitute of foundation. (*Perroniana*, p. 299.)

[q] Every church indeed that imposes its articles as the only true interpretation of the scriptures, must necessarily be understood as asserting an arrogant claim to infallibility; and the church of Rome only differs from some other churches in advancing this claim without any reserve or circumlocution. The reformed churches are certainly more cautious and bashful; but whether they are in reality more modest, is another ques-

it is to be hoped that a reformed church will never be induced to reform backwards.

The personal history of Serranus, who was a native of Viviers or the adjacent district, is involved in obscurity.[r] It however appears that soon after the publication of his edition of Plato, he returned to France,[s] and there exercised the functions of a minister. He is reported to have died at the age of fifty, in the year 1598. In the respective dedications of his Greek psalms, and of the second volume of Plato, he mentions Buchanan with high commendation. "I have been wonderfully charmed," he remarks, "with the erudite felicity of George Buchanan, a man indeed not only to be equalled to the greatest poets of our own age, but even of all learned antiquity."[t]

Rodolphus Gualtherus, an eminent minister of the reformed church of Zurich in Switzerland,

tion. They all profess to regard the scriptures as the only standard of faith; yet not one of them will permit its members to interpret the scriptures for themselves. Without the exercise of this privilege, the scriptures are no standard to us; our belief is nothing better than a blind and bigoted reliance on the infallibility of the original imposers of articles. And whence did these article-mongers derive their authority to interpret the scriptures for all posterity?

[r] Oeuvres Diverses de Bayle, tom. iv, p. 648. Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres, tom. iv, p. 316.

[s] Heinsii Epistolæ Selectiores, p. 778.

[t] "Mirifice vero inter cæteros poetas placuit mihi erudita felicitas Georgii Buchanani, viri profecto non tantum cum nostræ ætatis, sed et cum totius eruditæ antiquitatis summis poetis æquandi." (Serrani *Ded. Psalmorum Metaphrasis.*)

addressed himself to Buchanan on a similar occasion. Having inscribed to the young monarch his homilies on the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, which were printed in the year 1576, he transmitted two copies to Buchanan; requesting him to present one to his hopeful pupil, and to retain the other as a token of the author's regard. Relative to this subject, four of their letters are extant;[u] and they tend to exhibit our illustrious countryman in no unamiable point of view. His correspondent Gualtherus, the author of various works,[x] was a native of Zurich. In his youth he had eagerly applied himself to the study of polite literature; he had discovered some talent for poetry, and had executed a Latin version of the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux.[y] He afterwards acquired distinction as a theologian; and for the space of more than forty years, he exercised with great fidelity and diligence the pastoral care in his native city.[z]

Buchanan, about this period of his life, corre-

[u] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 16, 17, 20, 26.

[x] Teissier, Eloges des Hommes Savans, tom. ii, p. 55.

[y] Gualtherus is a contributor to the *Delitiæ Poetarum Germanorum.* His translation of Pollux was published without the Greek text, accompanied however with annotations. Basil. 1541, 4to. It is mentioned in disparaging terms by Jos. Scaliger *(Epistolæ*, p. 528.) Beza has written the epitaph of Gualtherus, and that of his son. *(Poemata Varia*, p. 120, 121.)

[z] Verheiden, Præstantium aliquot Theologorum Elogia, p 200. Hag. Com. 1602, fol. Boissardi Icones, tom. iv, p. 154. Adami Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum, p. 592.

sponded with many other characters of distinction: with some of them he was personally acquainted; the rest he attracted by the unrivalled splendour of his reputation. Tycho Brahe having published his tract *De Nova Stella* in the year 1573, did not neglect to present it to a man who, like himself, had essentially contributed to advance the intellectual fame of the northern nations. Buchanan was for some time prevented from acknowledging this gratifying mark of attention; but he at length addressed a very elegant and polite letter to that renowned astronomer.[a] When King James, in the year 1590, visited Tycho Brahe[b] at his castle of Uranienburg, he observed Buchanan's picture hanging in the library; and immediately recognized the lineaments of his deceased preceptor. This picture had been presented by Sir Peter Young, during one of his embassies to the court of Denmark.[c]

Although Buchanan did not professedly devote himself to the illustration of ancient authors, yet he bore a high reputation for critical sagacity. He was consulted by scholars of different nations; and some of his corrections have been published

[a] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 14.

[b] The Latin version of *His Maiesties awn Sonnet*, which Gassendi ascribes to Tycho Brahe, was unquestionably executed by Lord Maitland. It is printed with the chancellor's name in the first edition of King James's "Meditatiovn vpon the xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, and xxix verses of the xv chapt. of the first buke of the Chronicles of the Kingis." Edinb. 1589, 4to.

[c] Gassendi Vita Tychonis Brahei, p. 123. Paris. 1654, 4to.

by Turnebus and Lambinus.[d] It cannot indeed be regretted that a man capable of originating works of such uncommon excellence, should not have devoted a larger portion of his life to illustrate the reliques of ancient genius; but his sagacity and erudition would have enabled him to secure a very high station in that department, preoccupied as it then was by scholars of the first magnitude. Whatever may be the fashionable estimate of our cotemporaries, the manly and robust age of Buchanan entertained no contemptuous opinion of the character or occupation of those learned men, who contributed to restore the Greek and Roman authors to their original integrity. To acquire distinction as a classical commentator was one of the principal objects of youthful ambition: the splendid talents of Calvin were first exercised in illustrating a treatise of Seneca.[e] The useful labours of verbal criticism have employed some of the most powerful intellects in which modern Europe can glory. That eminent philologers have written with pedantic prolixity, or judged with precipitation, or have attached an inordinate value to trifles,[f] it would

[d] These emendations are reprinted in Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan, tom. i, p. xx, tom. ii, p. 103. Lambinus characterizes him as "vi omni doctrina præstans." "Neminem esse," says Turnebus, "existimo in Gallia paulo humaniorem, cui Georgius Buchananus non sit notus, non solum eximius poeta, verum etiam vir omni liberali eruditione non leviter tinctus, sed penitus imbutus." (*Adversaria*, lib. i, cap. ii.)

[e] Calvini Opera, tom. viii, edit. Amst.

[f] Joseph Castalio shall supply us with an illustration. "*Incredibili* me

not indeed be safe to dispute: but those who deny that they have contributed to the advancement of solid learning, ought to be superseded as incompetent judges. To treat with derision the memory of scholars who have subjected themselves to stupendous labours for the common cause, must either be regarded as a proof of total ignorance, or of some more odious quality.

In the library of the university of Edinburgh is a manuscript ascribed to Buchanan, consisting of annotations on the eclogues, georgics, and first seven books of the Æneid of Virgil. These notes were inspected by Mr. Ruddiman, a competent judge of their merit; who was of opinion that they had either been falsely imputed to Bu-

nuper *voluptate* perfudit Vergiliorum nomen in marmore pervetusto inscalptum," &c. To settle the mighty contention between *e* and *i*, he has written a tract entitled "De Recta Scribendi Vergili Nominis Ratione Commentarius:" and his exultation seems not so much to arise from his ascertaining the orthography of the name, as from his ascertaining it to be Vergilius instead of Virgilius. (*Variæ Lectiones et Opuscula.* Romæ, 1594, 4to.)

With respect to conjectural criticism, it would have been fortunate if some scholars of eminence had formed the same estimate as J. M. Gesner. "Conjecturas ingeniosas," says Ernesti, "laudabat magis quam probabat: et nihil magis quam dulces illecebras in judicando cavendum monebat. Nec tamen ingenio, literis et doctrina diu subacto, nihil tribuebat: quo et ipse non pauca feliciter correxit." (*Opuscula Oratoria*, p. 331, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1762, 8vo.) "Nec semper, meo judicio," says the elegant Gravina, "vera lectio erit ea quæ melior: scriptores enim, varia distracti scriptionis cura, industriam aliquando remittunt. Neque humanum ingenium contendere ubique potest omnibus nervis: ideo ut in acie milites, etsi minus fortes, tamen, quia fessis integri succedunt, pugnant aliquantisper alacrius; ita evenit, ut acutius aliquando communiscantur interpretes, quam ipsimet auctores invenerunt." (*Origines Juris Civilis*, præf.)

chanan, or had been extemporaneously committed to writing, without any view towards publication. They are adapted to the capacity of boys.[s]

Among other scholars who solicited his contributions was Obertus Gifanius, a civilian and philologer of no inconsiderable reputation. One of his letters to Buchanan has been preserved: it is dated at Orleans on the sixteenth of January 1567. "Relying on your candour and good nature," says Gifanius, "I repeatedly wrote to you some months ago. Supposing my former letters to have miscarried, I now address you a third time; and that more confidently through the encouragement of your countrymen Gordon, Cunningham, Guthrie, and other youths whom I understand to be very dear to you, and with whom, much to my satisfaction and improvement, I here live upon terms of intimacy. If therefore my correspondence should prove irksome to you, which I should very much regret, recollect what vouchers I have it in my power to allege; vouchers who will never disown their having instigated me; such is their candour, such their sincerity, and such their regard for me, unworthy of it as I am. In those my former letters, I wrote I know not what respecting some passages of Cæsar, in my opinion somewhat obscure, with the view of obtaining from you their elucidation,

[s] Ruddimanni præf. in Buchanan. p. xxi.

If you have made any remarks upon his commentaries, as I doubt not you have, it is now my request that you will communicate them to me. I shall take care to convince both yourself and the public that I do not, as that fellow Dionysius has with abundant impudence objected to me,[h] produce the emendations of others as my own, but most gratefully recognize every man's claims; and to you, should you liberally condescend to favour me, an obscure individual and a foreigner, with such a communication, I shall be particularly studious to mark my obligations. Although I am aware of your being admirably versed in writers of every denomination, yet I am chiefly anxious to procure your assistance with respect to Cæsar, as I have determined speedily to publish an edition of that author accompanied with notes. If you should however subjoin by way of ἐπιλογὸν and corollary, any remarks on Livy, Ovid, or other authors, you will thus strengthen the attachment of one firmly attached before; and having already been bound to you by many ties, I shall then acknowledge them to be much augmented. There is another circumstance of which I wish you to be apprized, and which has furnished me with almost the only reason for addressing you at this time. Plantin, a Flemish

[h] Gifanius published an edition of Lucretius soon after that of Dionysius Lambinus had made its appearance; and Lambinus, in his preface to the third impression, has in strong terms accused him of appropriating his labours. This charge is confirmed by Thomasius and Bayle.

printer who, if I am not deceived, is known to you, and who is remarkable for publishing works of value, is very solicitous to edit with a Latin version, all or the greater part of those Greek epigrams which form the Anthology. Having learned from those countrymen of yours that you have translated much from the Greek into the Latin language, and being habitually eager to procure for my friend Plantin all the assistance within my compass, it was extremely fortunate that I should meet with this Scotish merchant, who is well acquainted with you, and who was then hastening directly homeward: for I am persuaded that when you shall have received this account of Plantin's scheme, you will approve of it, and will also promote it by sending him, as soon as possible, your versions of some of the epigrams. It is a favour which I entreat of you, but with due regard to your own convenience; for I would not be guilty of importunity. This is a person who is both worthy of being intrusted with your verses, and encouraged by your good offices: he has already printed a very elegant edition of your psalms,[1] and is hardly ambitious of undertaking the impression of any productions except your own. With respect to other matters, although you receive abundant information from many correspondents, yet it will not I trust be disagreeable if I add my

1 Antverpiæ, 1566, 12mo.

contribution. Your *Jephthes* and *Franciscanus*, translated into French by your friend Chrestien, are printing in this city.[k] An edition of Lycophron by my friend Canterus has very lately been published at Basil, together with the younger Scaliger's translation, replete with antiquity, and in the style of Pacuvius.[l] Your astronomical poem is expected with the utmost avidity. Auratus having lately been presented with the title of *Poeta Regius*, and with a pension sufficiently ample, will, if I am not deceived, discontinue his professorial functions. Ramus is said to have published some very learned mathematical prolegomena."[m] Among the poetical works of Buchanan several translations from the Greek occur: but Plantin's project was never carried into execution. Nor did Gifanius publish his intended edition of Cæsar.

Obertus Gifanius was a native of Buren in Gelderland. Having taught jurisprudence and phi-

[k] Le Cordelier de Buchanan, fait en François. *Geneve*, 1567, 4to. The reason for substituting Geneva instead of Orleans is sufficiently obvious.

[l] Basileæ, 1566, 4to.—This very obscure poet was illustrated by Canterus at the age of twenty-four. Even at an earlier age, he produced a philological work of no vulgar erudition. (*Novæ Lectiones*. Basil. 1564, 8vo.) Guilielmus Canterus was born at Utrecht in 1542; and died in 1575. An ample account of his life may be found in Suffridus Petrus *De Scriptoribus Frisiæ*, p. 111. Colon. Agrip. 1593, 8vo. His brother Theodorus Canterus wrote his *Variæ Lectiones* at the age of twenty. (Colomesii *Opuscula*, p. 231.) Meursius published his edition of Lycophron at the age of eighteen. Lugd. Bat. 1597, 8vo.

[m] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 6.

losophy at Strasburg, and jurisprudence at Altdorf and Ingolstad, his literary fame procured him the patronage of the emperor Rodolph; who conferred upon him the honourable title of imperial counsellor, accompanied with considerable emolument. He was undoubtedly a man of no vulgar erudition; but his moral qualities seem to have been of a more dubious nature. In his youth, he had embraced the doctrines of the reformation; but as his new creed was not sufficiently adapted to the meridian of Vienna, he reverted to Popery. His sordid love of money exposed him to the derision of Joseph Scaliger; who informs us that although Gifanius was master of twenty-five thousand ducats, he lived in a garret, and, to avoid the expence of company-keeping, sent his wife to live at Nuremberg. From the same dignified motives of economy, he exacted from his children the common offices of domestic servants. After having exceeded the age of seventy, this learned man died at Prague in the year 1604.[n]

Florent Chrestien, whom he mentions as the friend of Buchanan and the translator of some

[n] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. vi, p. 243.—A catalogue of his works may be found in Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, p. 703, and in Sweertius, *Athenæ Belgicæ*, p. 536. A list of books which Gifanius left for publication occurs in the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. xii, p. 589. Bayle, who has given a short account of this scholar, was not aware of the publication of his posthumous production, entitled *Observationes Singulares in Linguam Latinam*. Franc. 1624, 8vo. This work had been pilfered by Scioppius. "Gifanius," says Christopher Wase, "rei antiquariæ peritia ultra ætatem eminuit." *(De Legibus et Licentia Veterum Poetarum*, p. 244.)

of his writings, was born at Orleans in 1540. His father, whose name was William, and who descended from a noble family of Bretagne, was a favourite physician of Henry the second; and was likewise the author or translator of several works. Florent was his mother's fifth child, and was born in the seventh month of gestation: in allusion to these circumstances, he assumed, when he wrote in Latin, the name of Quintus Septimius Florens Christianus.° As he had attained to uncommon proficiency as a classical scholar, he was selected as a fit preceptor for the prince of Navarre. His pupil, afterwards so conspicuous by the title of Henry the Great, is said to have regarded him with little kindness; and to have bestowed upon him with considerable reluctance the office of keeper of the royal library. Chrestien, like his friend Buchanan, had perhaps enforced subordination; to which royal pupils cannot be supposed to reconcile themselves with much facility. At Orleans he was invested with some military command, which he discharged with bravery. Having afterwards retired to Vendôme, he fell into the power of the Leaguers upon the capture of that town; but his pupil soon delivered him by paying his ransom. He was one of the duke of Vendôme's counsellors. His character was that of an excellent scholar and a worthy man. He

° Jos. Scaligeri Poemata, p. 40. Lugd. Bat. 1615, 16to.

was regarded as one of the best Grecians of the age; and Jos. Scaliger was of opinion that France could not boast of another person who composed in Greek, Latin, and French, with equal felicity. He wrote many poems upon occasional subjects, but only an inconsiderable portion has been printed.[p] His translating those works of Buchanan must have afforded the author no trivial gratification; for Chrestien was both respected and feared by his brother poets. His satire, though it did not originate in a malevolent temper, was sufficiently formidable: and Ronsard, who had experienced its keenness, deemed himself very fortunate in a reconciliation. In the year 1596, his life was terminated at Vendôme by a rapid fever.[q] The only stain which affixes itself to his memory is that of apostasy. His attachment to the reformed religion had been

[p] Janus Gruterus, or, according to his anagram, *Ranutius Gherus*, has inserted some of Chrestien's Latin verses in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*; but many of them had escaped his notice, and many more were never printed. Nine poems written by Chrestien in Greek, Latin, and French, occur in the collection entitled *Christophori Thuani Tumulus*. Lutetiæ, 1583, 4to. He translated the Cynegetics of Oppian into French, and various other poems into Latin. His version of the Cyclops of Euripides is appended to Casaubon *De Satyrica Græcorum Poesi, et Romanorum Satira*. Paris. 1605, 8vo. He likewise translated some of the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes. His version of Musæus is reprinted in Röver's edition of that poet. Lugd. Bat. 1737, 8vo. Some of his epistles occur in the collections of Gabbema and Burman. See also *Epistres Françoises à M. de la Scala*, p. 58, 229, 386.

[q] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. v, p. 643. Sammarthani Elogia, p. 124. Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres, tom. xxxiv, p. 122. Beauchamps, Recherches sur les Theatres de France, tom. i, p. 434.

marked by no inconsiderable zeal; and yet Fronto Ducæus, a learned and honest Jesuit who flourished soon afterwards, alludes to his reconversion as a circumstance well known.[r] If such conduct may admit of palliation, it was certainly excusable in France after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and the conversion of Petrus Pithœus, a man equally revered for his probity and learning, had been effected by the same awful process of reasoning.

Lucas Fruterius, the friend of Gifanius, is likewise entitled to a place among the more remarkable correspondents of Buchanan; to whom he has repeatedly addressed himself in affectionate terms. In an epistle, written, it must be confessed, with sufficient pedantry, he reminds Buchanan of a promise to aid him in a critical work with which he was then occupied.[s] This was his *Verisimilia;* to which he was apparently anxious that so brilliant a name should impart its lustre. From the same letter, it appears that they had been personally acquainted at Paris, subsequent to the nuptials of the Scotish queen. Her marriage was celebrated on the twenty-ninth of July 1565, and the letter of Fruterius was written on the first of February 1566.[t] A tradition formerly prevailed that Buchanan stole

[r] Burmanni Sylloge Epistolarum, tom. i, p. 647.

[s] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 4.

[t] Ruddiman's Animadversions, p. 65.

away from St. Andrews in one of his humorous moods, and without having communicated the project to any of his friends, made a voyage to France.[u] This rumour has been supposed to derive considerable probability from the epistle of Fruterius.

Fruterius, a native of Bruges in Flanders, was regarded by his cotemporaries as a young man of the highest promise;[x] but a fatal accident soon arrested him in the career of glory which he hoped to run. After having heated himself by playing at tennis with too much eagerness, he unadvisedly swallowed a draught of cold water, and was immediately seized with a distemper which his constitution could not resist. He died at Paris in the month of March 1566.[y] Although he had scarcely entered the twenty-fifth year of his age, he had arrived at uncommon proficiency in the study of philology, and had even executed a portion of the various plans which suggested themselves to his youthful ardour. Dousa, Gifanius, and other young Belgians of talents and learning, were residing in Paris at the time of his death. As Gifanius had

[u] "I have heard it related an hundred times," says Mr. Ruddiman, "that Buchanan, when principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, without acquainting any of his friends of it, did make such a voyage to France." (*Anticrisis*, p. 139.)

[x] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii, p. 479. Miræi Elogia Illustrium Belgii Scriptorum, p. 199. Antv. 1602, 8vo. Andreæ Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 628. Sweertii Athenæ Belgicæ, p. 517. Antv. 1628, fol.

[y] Gabbemæ Epistolæ, p. 650.

watched his death-bed with uncommon solicitude, he confided to him the sacred deposit of his manuscript productions; but it soon appeared that he had confided in a treacherous friend. Gifanius, who deferred their publication on various pretexts, had too evidently formed a design of appropriating the successful labours of this young philologer. Dousa urged him, with all the warmth of honest zeal, to discharge the trust which had thus devolved upon him; and, when he found his persuasions ineffectual, subjected him to a legal prosecution. But it was only by means of a stratagem that he was at length enabled to obtain a transcript of the principal papers.[z] These he committed to the press eighteen years after the death of Fruterius. The title-page of the collection bears an evident allusion to the conduct of Gifanius;[a] whom Dousa has

[z] Dousæ Poemata, p. 339, edit. Scriverii.

[a] Lucæ Fruterii Brugensis Librorum *qui recuperari potuerunt* Reliquiæ. Antverpiæ, 1584, 8vo. Prefixed is an epistle from Lipsius to Dousa the editor, which commences thus: "Vere mihi sæpe adfirmasti: inter prima ingenia Belgii nostri, imo Galliæ, Lucas Fruterius fuit." The volume includes "Julii Severiani Syntomata Rhetorices: nunc primum diligentia et studio Fruterii in lucem edita." This tract is very brief. Gruterus afterwards published a third book of the *Verisimilia* of Fruterius, and some of his philological epistles. (*Thesaurus Criticus*, tom. v, p. 339, 384.) A long epistle from this young Belgian occurs among those of Muretus. (Lib. i, epist. xxv.) Two of his letters to Guilielmus Canterus may be found in the collection of Simon Abbes Gabbema, entitled "Epistolarum ab Illustribus et Claris Viris Scriptarum Centuriæ tres," p. 615, 629. Harlingæ Frisiorum, 1664, 8vo. The edition of Aulus Gellius printed at Geneva in 1609 includes the annotations of Fruterius. Some of his unpublished poems are mentioned by Saxius. (*Onomasticon Literarium*, tom. iii, p. 390.)

satirized with great keenness in several of his ingenious poems.

The name of Peter Daniel, a scholar of no inconsiderable erudition, is frequently mentioned with that of Buchanan; with whom he appears to have been intimately connected. At the suggestion of several of their common friends, he addressed a letter to Buchanan for the purpose of urging the impression of those poetical works which had been promised many years before. This letter is short, and indicates the general respect in which his correspondent was held. "Several learned men," says Daniel, "by whom you are very much esteemed, have requested me to stimulate you, through the medium of a letter, to the publication of those iambics, epigrams, and odes, which we have now been expecting for the space of nearly ten years. This commission I certainly undertake with cheerfulness; and I adjure you by the sacred rites of the Muses, not to withhold from your friends what will so much conduce to the common advantage of men of letters, but to proceed, when your leisure shall permit, with the plan of collecting your scattered productions. Their impression will be carefully managed by my countryman Mamert Patisson, who has married the widow of Stephanus, and whom you will find extremely disposed to comply with your wishes. Your books *De Sphæra* are also expected with anxiety; and if

you likewise transmit to me any other work which you have recently finished, you will at once fulfil both your promises, and preserve your writings from perishing. By this plan, they who ascribe your productions to themselves will be put to the blush; and they will be derided who, under your name, either publish other men's works or their own; as we readily supposed to have been done of late with respect to the verses on the admiral. Farewell, distinguished man. All the learned and pious salute you, especially Scaliger, La Hatte,[b] and Chrestien. Cujacius is in town, and it is rumored that he is speedily to open a school of civil law. If you have made any alterations in your paraphrase of the psalms, let me request you to send them."[c]

Peter Daniel was a native of St. Benoist sur Loire,[d] but the principal part of his life was spent at Orleans. His profession was that of an advocate, and he held the office of *bailli* of the abbey of Fleuri. But he was zealously attached to critical studies, and attained to uncommon familiarity with ancient manuscripts.[e] Scioppius cha-

[b] "Nicolai Hattæi Aurelii, regis et Aureliorum ducis secretarii, Carmen ad P. Danielem civem suum," is prefixed to Daniel's edition of the *Querolus*. Thuanus mentions "Nic. Hata actuarius publicus" as a violent partisan of the League in the year 1587. (*Hist. sui Temporis*, tom. iv, p. 441, 467.) But it is not probable that this was the friend of the heretical poet.

[c] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 12.

[d] Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans, tom. ii, par. ii, p. 251.

[e] "Egregius est adolescens Petrus Daniel Aurelianus, et bonis literis

racterizes him as a storehouse of every species of antiquities.[f] He lived on terms of intimacy with some of the most distinguished scholars of the age: Scaliger and Turnebus acknowledge themselves indebted to him for the communication of his manuscript treasures. After his death, which happened in the year 1603, his manuscript library was purchased by Bongars and Paul Petau, for the sum of fifteen hundred livres.[g] His only publications were editions of Petronius,[h] Servius,[i] and of the curious relique entitled *Querolus, sive Aulularia*.[k] To this comedy, which had not formerly been printed, he prefixed the commendatory verses of Buchanan.[l]

Hubert Languet seems likewise to claim a share of our attention. His letter to Buchanan, dated

ita deditus, ut nihil aliud in delitiis habere videatur: librorum autem veterum tam cupidus, ut bibliothecas omnes pervestiget, et aliquid semper in lucem proferat, et libros vetustate sepultos velut redivivos hominum lectioni reddat."

TURNEBI Adversaria, lib. xxvi, cap. xxi.

f Scioppius de Arte Critica, p. 13.

g Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, præf. Paris. 1685, 4to.

h Daniel's preface is reprinted in Burman's edition of Petronius Arbiter, p. 256. Traj. ad Rhen. 1709, 4to.

i Parisiis, 1600, fol.

k Paris. 1564, 8vo. This is the *Aulularia* of Plautus transprosed. Another edition was afterwards published by Rittershusius; who has subjoined the same comedy transformed into elegiac verse by Vitalis Blesensis. Heidelb. 1595, 8vo. The notes of Daniel, and his dissertation respecting the author, are likewise retained. Pareus has inserted the prose *Aulularia* in his edition of Plautus, and has strangely enough imputed it to Gildas.

l Buchanani Opera, tom. ii, p. 102.

at Delft on the twentieth of February 1581, will illustrate the nature of their connexion. "By your virtue, and by the various and noble monuments of your genius, you have rendered yourself so conspicuous in the Christian world, that hardly a single lover of science and literature can be found, who does not regard you with the utmost reverence and admiration. I consider it as an instance of no common felicity, that about twenty years ago, it was my lot not only to see you at Paris, and to enjoy your most pleasant and most learned conversation, but also to entertain you as my guest, together with those distinguished men, Turnebus, Auratus,[m] Balduinus the civilian,[n] Sambucus the Hungarian,[o] Carolus Clusius,[p] and some others. We then heard you discuss various subjects in a manner which tended very much to our edification and delight. To those circumstances I now allude for the purpose of trying whether I can suggest to your recollec-

[m] Bayle, Dictionaire Historique et Critique, art. *Daurat*. Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres, tom. xxvi, p. 109.—His real name seems to have been Dorat.

[n] Bayle, art. *Baudouin*. Niceron, tom. xxviii, p. 255.

[o] Thuanus, tom. iv, p. 252. Boissardus, tom. iii, p. 44. Ghilini, vol. i, p. 86. Freherus, p. 1282. Pope Blount, Censura Celebriorum Authorum, p. 551. Lond. 1690, fol. Bullart, Academie des Sciences, tom. ii, p. 184. Joannis Fabricii Hist. Bibliothecæ Fabricianæ, tom. iii, p. 465. Bezæ Poemata Varia, p. 109.

[p] Meursius, p. 186. Andreas, p. 118. Sweertius, p. 116. Boissardus, tom. ii, p. 8. Bullart, tom. ii, p. 114. Adami Vitæ Germanorum Medicorum, p. 407.

tion who I am: but whoever I am, assure yourself of my being a very warm admirer of your virtue. For several years, I have lived with Philip Melanchthon, and I then seemed to myself to live happily.[q] Having after his decease been exposed to various chances, I have at length betaken myself to these regions, as to a haven more secure than any other that I could find, notwithstanding their having been agitated for many years by the storms of civil war. Even amidst these warlike tumults, the light of the gospel shines forth; to us is announced the doctrine which points out the true path of salvation; and while the Spaniards threaten devastation, the superstition which infects their minds is expelled from the churches. It was the prince of Orange, the great ornament of our age, who commanded me to accompany him to this place. Supported by the vigour and acuteness of his mind, he has hitherto maintained such a contest with the formidable power of the Spaniards as has procured him immortal glory. After having under his auspices severed their tyrannical empire, these provinces have happily constituted various republics and churches, which being closely leagued together, have hitherto resisted the attacks of the enemy. The king of Spain having for several years endeavoured without success to overwhelm him by force, has at

[q] Camerarii Vita Melanchthonis, p. 333.

length resorted to arms which do not seem altogether suitable to so great a monarch; he has issued an edict in which he pronounces sentence of prescription, and endeavours, by proposing rewards, to impel assassins to accomplish his murder. Since many falsehoods are there alleged against him, he has been induced by his friends to publish an apology, for the purpose of vindicating his innocence against the calumnies of the Spaniards. This apology I transmit to you.[r] During the winter, I have lived in these puddles of the Dutch, which nature seems rather to have intended for the habitation of frogs and eels than of men. This town is however very handsome; and at the distance of three hours journey stands Leyden, or *Lugdunum Batavorum*, as they now speak, the residence of Justus Lipsius, Janus Dousa the poet, and Donellus the French civilian,[s] men of learning and celebrity. From the vicinity of this town, we have a prospect of Roterdam; a prospect which not only recals to my memory the great Erasmus, in whom it glories as a citizen, but also you: for I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment, that such horrid places should produce men to whose talents neither our own age, nor that of our fathers or grandfathers, has exhibited a parallel. Erasmus

[r] The apology issued by the prince of Orange is supposed to have been written by Languet. (Niceron, tom. iii, p. 305.)

[s] Gravina, p. 131. Brunquelli Hist. Juris Romani, p. 377.

was invited to inform the youth of Ferdinand brother to the emperor Charles, but he declined this employment. I account you more fortunate and virtuous in not having refused to aid your country, when it called you to imbue the king's tender mind with those precepts which being observed in his riper years, will secure the happiness and prosperity of himself, and of all those to whom his dominion extends. Daniel Rogers, our common friend, who regards you with singular veneration, was four months ago seized by the Germans serving under the king of Spain; nor has the queen of England, who had sent him upon an embassy to the emperor and some other German princes, hitherto been able to obtain his release.[t] He was lately reported to have made his escape through the assistance of some woman; but we have heard of his being retaken, and committed to more rigorous confinement. I am extremely concerned that such an accident should have befallen a worthy man, with whom I have cultivated a particular intimacy for many years. I am very anxious to learn, provided it should not be disagreeable to you, when you shall publish your Scotish history. From Melvil, an excellent man, you may know the state of my affairs. Farewell."[u]

[t] Langueti Epistolæ ad Sydneium, p. 287.

[u] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 31. *Clarissimo et Præstantissimo Viro, Domino Georgio Buchanano, domino suo et amico observando.*

This letter must have been highly grateful to Buchanan's feelings: it expressed the warm admiration of a distinguished and truly honest man, whose applause was not rashly distributed; and it recalled to his memory some of the learned associates of his earlier years. Languet himself was equally conspicuous for his talents and for his virtues. He was the son of Germain Languet, governor of Viteaux in Burgundy; and was born at that place in the year 1518. He prosecuted his studies at Leipzig under the excellent Camerarius, for whom he maintained the highest regard. At an early period of life he had begun to entertain serious doubts respecting the doctrines of Popery; and after having consulted the theologians of that city, he openly embraced the reformed religion. He studied the laws in the university of Padua, where he received the degree of doctor, and afterwards removed to that of Bologna. Prompted by the innate curiosity of a philosophical mind, he determined to visit several other countries, and he even penetrated so far as Lapland. His profession of heretical opinions rendered his return to France less desirable: the best part of his life was spent among the honest Germans; and for a long time he exercised the charge of counsellor to the elector of Saxony, by whom he was likewise intrusted with different embassies. It was apparently during one of his embassies to the court of France, that

he became acquainted with Buchanan. Being suspected of having encouraged Gaspar Peucer to publish a Calvinistic exposition of the eucharist, he found it expedient to withdraw himself from the elector's service; and he now retired to Holland, where he was intrusted by the prince of Orange with the management of some important affairs. He died at Antwerp on the thirtieth of September 1581.[x] During his last moments, he was very affectionately attended by the wife of his excellent and accomplished friend Mornay; and he expressed an earnest wish that her illustrious spouse should, in the next work which he published, commemorate their mutual attachment and regard.[y] This dying request Mornay executed in the preface to a Latin translation of his treatise "De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne." To his natural endowments Languet had united much variegated and accurate knowledge; he was well acquainted with books, and still better with the dispositions and manners of mankind. His long experience of public affairs had rendered him a very able politician, without diminish-

[x] Beza has written his epitaph. (*Poemata Varia*, p. 111.)

[y] De Liques, Vie de Philippes de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marlay, p. 57. Leyde, 1647, 4to. Marii Vita Huberti Langueti, p. 151. Halæ, 1700, 12mo.—This account of Languet was written by Philibert de la Mare, a counsellor of Dijon; who appears from one of his epistles to N. Heinsius, to have been occupied in its composition about the year 1660. (Burmanni *Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. v, p 682.) It was edited by J. P. Ludovicus, or Ludewig; who has very strangely suppressed the name of the author.

ing the native candour and probity of his mind. His admirable sagacity was accompanied with the utmost modesty and benevolence. His literary performances exhibit sufficient proofs of a cultivated and elegant mind; and if his active life had been devoted to letters, he might have arrived at very high celebrity as a polite writer.[z]

Besides the continental scholars who have already been enumerated, there were various others who regarded Buchanan with particular affection: and whatever may be the notion of a few speculators of the present age, certain it is that his moral and intellectual qualities procured him, among the most enlightened of his cotemporaries, the same high degree of respect. Daniel Rogers informed him that in Holland he had many zealous admirers, and, among the chief of them, Janus Dousa, and Philippe de Marnix de Ste. Aldegonde; men equally illustrious by the nobility of their birth, and by the superiority of their endowments. "The former of these," he subjoins, "I introduced to your acquaintance

[z] The following is a list of the principal works of which Languet is the undisputed author. "Historica Descriptio susceptæ a Cæsarea Majestate Executionis contra S. Rom. Imperii Rebelles." Sine loci indicio, 1568, 1569, 4to. Bremæ, 1735, 4to. The last edition was published by Ehrenreich Gerhard Coldwey. "Epistolæ Politicæ et Historicæ ad Philippum Sydneium." Franc. 1633, 12mo. "Epistolæ ad Joachimum Camerarium P. et Joachimum Camerarium F." Groningæ, 1646, 12mo. "Epistolæ Secretæ ad Augustum Saxoniæ Ducem." Halæ, 1699, 4to. Of the epistles to Sir Philip Sidney a valuable edition was published by the late Lord Hailes. Edinb. 1776, 8vo.

while you were residing in Paris; and I now at his particular request transmit to you a copy of his poems, which have recently been published. The latter, whose intrinsic merit has rendered him the favourite of a most excellent prince,[a] you also knew at Paris. When I lately returned from my embassy to that prince, he addressed to you the letter which accompanies this."[b] Janus Dousa, born at Noortwyck in Holland in the year 1545, was, like Buchanan, a poet and a statesman. He enjoyed some of the highest civil honours which his country could bestow; and having been appointed governor of Leyden, he defended it during a memorable siege with distinguished bravery. He was one of the first curators of the university founded in that city in 1575. He died in the year 1604, much lamented by the republic of letters. His moral character seems to have been blameless; and he held a very respectable station among the scholars of that learned age. His merits are highly celebrated in the poems of Jos. Scaliger, Grotius, Heinsius, and Baudius. His reading, according to Meursius, was multifarious, his memory almost incredible: he was the Varro of Holland, and the common oracle of the university. Nor was he more conspicuous for his learning than for his humanity, candour, urbanity, and modesty.[c] His amiable

[a] The prince of Orange.

[b] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 13.

[c] Meursii Athenæ Batavæ, p. 89. Lugd. Bat. 1625, 4to.

family was singularly attached to letters: five of his sons, namely, Janus, Francis, George, Stephen, and Theodore, were known as authors; and the Latin poems of the first, who died before he had completed his twenty-sixth year, have been preferred by Grotius to those of his father.[d] Ste. Aldegonde, another of Buchanan's friends, has also been classed among the illustrious characters of that age.[e] Descended of French lineage, he was born at Brussels in the year 1538; and after having equally distinguished himself as a politician and a man of letters, he died at Leyden in the year 1598. He was well acquainted with jurisprudence and theology; with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as with several of the living languages. At the time of his death, he was engaged in a Flemish translation of the scriptures. Grotius has repeatedly mentioned him in very respectful terms; and his epitaph was written by Heinsius in a strain of high admiration.[f] These were individuals entitled to Buchanan's esteem, and he certainly was not unworthy of theirs. In the same epistle, which bears the date of August the thirtieth 1576, Rogers alludes to his friendship with another scholar of distinction. "Joannes Sturmius, in a letter which I lately received, earnestly entreats me

[d] Grotius de Rebus Belgicis, p. 267. Amst. 1657, fol.

[e] Bayle, art. *Sainte-Aldegonde.*

[f] Heinsii Auriacus, sive Libertas Saucia: accedunt ejusdem Iambi, p. 121. Lugd. Bat. 1602, 4to.

to send him some intelligence respecting you. I now forward a letter of his, which however is of an old date." Sturmius, who was born at Sleida near Cologne in the year 1507, was at the period of that correspondence rector of the College of Strasburg; which under his auspices became the most flourishing in Germany. He was equally distinguished by his skill in ancient literature, and by his familiarity with the political affairs of his own times. Such was the benevolence of his disposition, that his house was regarded as a common asylum for exiles, and a retreat for poor strangers: those in particular who had abandoned their country from motives of conscience, he entertained with unbounded generosity. This excellent man died at an advanced age in the year 1589, after having produced many elegant and learned works.[g] As a polite writer, he has been

[g] An account of Sturmius may be found in the curious work of Bayle, and in many other biographical collections. Lord Monboddo talks of "one Sturmius, a German." (*Origin and Progress of Language*, vol. iii, p. 390.) His illustrations of the rhetorical productions of Aristotle, Hermogenes, and Cicero, might alone have recommended him to his lordship's acquaintance. Among other original works, he published treatises "De Periodis," "De Imitatione Oratoria," and "De Amissa Dicendi Genere." Beza has written his epitaph in terms of high respect.

Si laudem pietas ullam sincera meretur
Veris suis cultoribus;
Eximiæ si qua est doctrinæ gloria; doctæ
Est si qua laus facundiæ;
Si summis imisque piis placuisse, malorum
Hostem fuisse perpetem,
Est vitæ locuples testis vindexque probatæ,
Ipsis crepantibus invidis;

classed with Cicero, Bembus, and Manutius.[h] His intercourse with Buchanan and Ascham contributed to render his name familiar to the scholars of this island. Among the epigrams of Buchanan, are three inscriptions for the portrait of Sturmius.[i]

Roger Ascham, the accomplished friend of Sturmius, must not be excluded from the present enumeration. Buchanan and he were personally acquainted;[k] and they have celebrated each other in their respective writings. Ascham has bestowed high commendation on the tragedy of *Jephthes*.[l] The following epigram of Buchanan is addressed "Ad Rogerum Aschamum Anglum, qui librum[m] cum honorifico elogio, et sui amoris significatione miserat."

Ecquis te, Sturmi, vixit felicior? ecquis
Te mortuo beatior?
Non igitur, Sturmi, te lugeo, lugeo nullos
Superesse nobis Sturmios.

Beżæ Poemata Varia, p. 135.

[h] Sambucus de Imitatione Ciceroniana, f. 47, b. Paris. 1561, 8vo.—See also Bergerus de Naturali Pulchritudine Orationis, p. 707. Lipsiæ, 1720, 4to.

[i] Buchanani Icones, p. 91.

[k] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 30.

[l] Ascham's English Works, p. 320.

[m] This book I have accidentally discovered in Williams's Library: it is a copy of the work of Fulvius Ursinus, entitled *Virgilius Collatione Scriptorum Græcorum Illustratus*. Antv. 1567, 8vo. The title-page is confronted with the subsequent inscription. "Rogerus Aschamus Georgio Buchanano, Anglus Scoto, amicus amico, hunc poetam omnis veteris memoriæ optimum, poetæ hujus nostræ ætatis optimo, amoris ergo, dono dat: cum hoc monasticho:

"Φίλον φίλῳ μνημόσυνον εὐμενῶς δίχυ."

Amplector, Rogere, tuum vehementer amorem,
Et nimii doctum pignus amoris amo:
Nec minus est animus genitor mihi gratus amoris,
Quæque animum virtus ornat amatque tuum:
Nec minus est gratus magni comes error amoris,
Et nimio cæcum pectus amore mei.[n]
Et cum cuncta[o] probem, virtutem, munus, amorem,
Et nimio fœtum pectus amore mei,
Absque errore meo vellem fas esset amare
Errorem de me, dulcis[p] amice, tuum.[q]

Ascham and Buchanan are regarded as the most elegant and classical Latinists whom their respective nations have produced. The preëminence of Buchanan will not be controverted; and a German critic of various erudition pronounced Ascham to be the only Englishman who had caught any considerable portion of the genuine diction of antiquity.[r] The elegance of his English productions is much superior to the common standard of the age: his *Schole Mastey* is equally valuable as a specimen of style, and as a treatise of practical application. In the composition of Latin verse he attained to less proficiency.[s]

This inscription is dated at Hampton Court, on the twentieth of November 1568. Ascham died on the thirtieth of the following month. Buchanan's epigram, written apparently with his own hand, occurs at the end of this precious volume. I shall subjoin the various readings.

[n] Quo pectus nimio cæcus amore mei.

[o] Multa. [p] Candide.

[q] Buchanani Epigram. lib. i, 39.

[r] Morhofius de Pura Dictione Latina, p. 41. Hanov. 1724, 8vo.

[s] The Latin epistles and poems of Ascham were published by Dr. Grant, who has prefixed an account of the author's life. Lond. 1576,

The personal history of Ascham, the preceptor, and afterwards the Latin secretary of Elizabeth, is not obscure; it has been detailed by his cotemporary Dr. Edward Grant, master of Westminster school, and at a later period by Dr. Samuel Johnson. He died in 1568, in the fifty-third year of his age; and Buchanan consecrated the subsequent lines to his memory.

Aschamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camœnæ,
Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit.[t]

Ascham seems to have been a very amiable, though not a very prudent character. Notwithstanding the elegance of his mind, he was immoderately addicted to the degrading amusements of dice and cock-fighting; and as he was an honest man, his losses were so considerable, that he lived and died in poverty, or at least not in opulence.[u]

Dr. Walter Haddon was another English scho-

8vo. The collection has frequently been reprinted. The best edition of the epistles is that of Mr. Elstob, who has however omitted Ascham's verses. Oxon. 1703, 8vo. Dr. Johnson's life of Ascham was prefixed to the collection of his English works, published by Mr. James Bennet. Lond. 1761, 4to. One of his productions has escaped the researches of this biographer. It is entitled "Apologia doctissimi viri Rogeri Aschami, Angli, pro Cœna Dominica, contra Missam et ejus Præstigias." Lond. 1577, 8vo. This work, of which I possess a copy, was likewise edited by Dr. Grant.

[t] Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 27.

[u] Camdeni Annales, vol. i, p. 177, edit. Hearnii.

lar of reputation with whom Buchanan seems to have enjoyed familiar intercourse. To that learned man he addressed the first of his iambics, when he was verging towards the sixtieth year of his age. Haddon, who descended from a genteel family in Buckinghamshire, had contributed with Ascham, Cheke, and Smith, to reform the university of Cambridge from monkish barbarism. Though a layman, he had been the master of a college at Cambridge, and at Oxford; and on the accession of Elizabeth, he was appointed one of the masters of the court of requests.[x] The style of his Latin prose is not inelegant; but he was much less successful as a versifier.

Dr. John Jewel, the famous bishop of Salisbury, has also been enumerated among the learned men with whom he maintained a literary intercourse;[y] but this suggestion seems merely to

[x] Biographica Britannica, vol. iv, p. 2458.—The same office was afterwards enjoyed by Bellenden: but in explaining its nature, the erudition of Dr. Parr has decoyed him too far from home. (*Præf in Bellendenum*, p. lxiii.) The court of requests was instituted about the ninth of Henry VII, and was dissolved by statute 16 Car. I, c. 10. Of this court, which professed to distribute justice gratuitously, the lord privy seal was chief judge; and was assisted by the two masters of the requests. The tribunal of the star-chamber was abolished by the same statute.

[y] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 60.—One of Buchanan's English friends was Edward Bulkeley, D. D. a clergyman of Shrewsbury. (Buchanani *Epistolæ*, p. 30.) The Bodleian catalogue ascribes to him two controversial works in English. I have a curious collection edited by Dr. Bulkeley under the title of *Speculum Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ*. Lond. 1606, 8vo. The principal tract in the volume is that of Nicolaus Clemangis *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*.

have originated from Buchanan's having celebrated him in two funeral inscriptions. These inscriptions were first published by his biographer Dr. Laurence Humphrey; who has exhibited the similar contributions of many other scholars.[z]

Sir Anthony Cooke and his learned daughters are highly extolled in the poems of Buchanan.[a] Cooke had been associated with Sir John Cheke as one of the preceptors of Edward the sixth;[b] and his virtue and erudition entitled him to so important a trust. With this most accomplished family,[c] Buchanan probably became acquainted during his political visit to London in the year 1568. The favourable opinion which he entertained of it will sufficiently appear from the subsequent address.

Cucides, Antoni soboles generosa parentis,
Et sobolis doctæ doctior ipse parens,

[z] Humfredi Vita Joannis Juelli. Lond. 1573, 4to.—Dr. Humphrey is the author of several works. The most remarkable of them is entitled *Interpretatio Linguarum: seu de Ratione Convertendi et Explicandi Autores tam Sacros quam Profanos, libri tres.* Basil. 1559, 8vo. This production displays considerable learning, but not much precision of thought, or elegance of diction. He was regius professor of divinity, and president of Magdalen College, at Oxford: he likewise enjoyed the deanry of Gloucester, and afterwards that of Winchester. His portrait may be found in Hugh Holland's *Heroologia Anglica*, p. 207.

[a] Buchanani Epigram. lib. i, 53, lib. iii, 12, 13, 14, 17.

[b] Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 28. Lond. 1705, 8vo.

[c] Ballard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies, p. 182, 188, 194. Oxford, 1752, 4to.

Non ego Pieridas, vobis in vota benignis,
Nec precibus Clarium sollicitabo Deum.
Cucides Aonidæ mihi erunt, pater alter Apollo,
Ingenio vires sufficietque meo.
Inde mihi surget xeniorum maxima merces,
Largaque de vestra munera fruge dabo.
Ludere me forsan perfricta fronte putetis,
Quod fieri alterius merce benignus amem.
Non ita: nam cum det Deus omnibus omnia, lætus
Accipit e donis munera parva suis.
Vos quoque germanæ Dîs tot virtutibus æquæ,
Et studiis docti docta propago patris,
Este Dei similes, nec munere pendite mentem:
Muneribus pretium mens generosa facit.[d]

Mildred Cooke, the eldest of these learned ladies, was the second wife of the famous Lord Burleigh. Buchanan congratulates her on having produced a poem more precious than gold; and her pro-

[d] Buchanani Epigram. lib. iii, 17.—"Prætereo filias," says Dr. Humphrey, "Antonii Coki equestris ordinis dignitate clari, linguarum ornamentis clarioris, religionis fideique laude clarissimi, Joannis Cheki in Edovardi sexti pueritia informanda collegæ: quæ parentem suum vere referunt, Latinis Græcisque literis eruditæ, quarum Guilielmi Cicilii electissimi viri uxor Græcam linguam perbene exacteque callere dicitur." (*De Ratione Interpretandi*, præf.) The father is mentioned by Sleidan, *De Statu Religionis et Reipublicæ*, f. 481, edit. Argent. 1557, 8vo. An epistle to Cooke from Cœlius Secundus Curio is prefixed to the work of his colleague Cheke, *De Pronunciatione Græcæ potissimum Linguæ*. Basil. 1555, 8vo. See also Aschami *Epistolæ*, p. 395, 414, 418, 427, 429, edit. Elstob, Fuller's *Hist. of the Worthies of England*, p. 327, and Tanneri *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 197. Lond. 1748, fol. Cooke is by some writers supposed to be the author of a work published at Strasburg, under the title of "Diallacticon de Veritate, Natura, atque Substantia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia." (Placcii *Theatrum Anon. et Pseudon.* tom. i, p. 107. Blackburne's *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* vol. ii, p. 665.)

ficiency in the Greek language was so considerable, that she translated a work of Chrysostom into English.[e] The poet, who seems to have been repeatedly indebted to her munificence, has addressed her in several epigrams. Anne the second daughter, who was married to Sir Nicholas Bacon, is likewise celebrated for her uncommon skill in the classical languages.[f] She translated from the Italian twenty-five sermons of Ochino, and from the Latin the famous apology of Bishop Jewel for the church of England. Both her versions were published. When she communicated her manuscript to the learned prelate, she accompanied it with an epistle written in Greek.[g] But it is her highest praise that she was the mother and early instructor of the great Lord Bacon.

Daniel Rogers, whom the English court employed in various embassies, appears to have been one of Buchanan's particular friends. A greater number of the letters which passed between them has been preserved, than of those between Buchanan and any other of his correspondents; and yet that number only amounts to six. He was the son of John Rogers, a Protestant clergyman, and of Adriana de Weyden. His father had conducted him to Frankfort at an early age; and

[e] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. i, p. 7.

[f] Caius de Libris suis, f. 12, b. Lond. 1570, 8vo.

[g] Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 178. Lond. 1711, fol.

he there obtained a familiar acquaintance with the classical languages. Returning to his native country at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he prosecuted his studies at Oxford. He married the daughter of Nicasius Yetswiert, French secretary to the queen, and one of the clerks of the signet; and by means of this connexion was introduced to the notice of the court. He was appointed one of the clerks of the privy council. Rogers, who died on the eleventh of February 1591,[h] is represented as a man of an excellent character; and he was undoubtedly possessed of talents and learning.[i]

Sir Thomas Randolph, LL.D. whose name is familiar to the readers of Scotish history, was also a warm admirer of Buchanan's genius and virtues.

h Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i, col. 199.

i Three Latin poems by Rogers are inserted in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, edit. Antv. 1579, fol.: nine in Latin, and one in Greek, are published in Humphrey's *Vita Joannis Juelli*. Many of his occasional verses occur in other books. See Dousæ *Poemata*, p. 470, Heinsii *Epistolæ Selectiores*, p. 667, Meursii *Athenæ Batavæ*, p. 28, and Hearnii *Præf. in Camdeni Annales*, p. cxxxix. "De veterum Britannorum moribus et legibus," says Ortelius, "scripsit commentarium Daniel Rogersius cognatus meus. Idem de Romanorum in Britannia imperio præ manibus habet." (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, f. 10.) In the Cotton Library is a quarto MS. entitled "Danielis Rogersii Angli Antiquæ Britanniæ Observationes [*manu propria*]." At p. 89, occurs a division of the work, entitled "Politia, seu Documenta Administrationis Romanæ in Britaniis." These observations, which merely consist of digested extracts from ancient and modern writers, were apparently never intended for publication. Rogers was a very intimate friend of Janus Dousa; who has dedicated to him his *Præcidanea pro Satyrico Petronii Arbitri*, and addressed him in several of his poems. (Dousæ *Poemata*, p. 5, 18, 174, 185, 604.)

He was the son of Avery Randolph of Badlesmere in Kent; prosecuted his studies in Christ Church at Oxford; and about the period when he took his bachelor's degree, was made a notary public. In 1549, he was constituted principal of Broadgate Hall, and retained the office till 1553. In the reign of Elizabeth, he was employed in various embassies to Scotland, France, and Russia.[k] Nor were his faithful services unrewarded; he received the honour of knighthood, and enjoyed the office of chamberlain of the exchequer, and that of comptroller general of the post horses. He died on the eighth of June 1590, at the age of sixty-seven.[l] Of the mutual epistles of Buchanan and Randolph, only two have been preserved: Buchanan's is written in the Scotish,[m]

[k] Some papers of Randolph may be found in Hakluyt's *Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, p. 399 Lond. 1589, fol. Buchanan has addressed to him his verses on the character of a good king, and has written the epitaph of his lady, Anne Walsingham. (*Icones*, p. 89. *Miscell.* xxvii.)

[l] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i, col. 195.

[m] Buchanan's letter, which occurs in Mr. Ruddiman's preface, p. xix, is not unworthy of attention. "To Maister Randolf Squiar, Maister of Postes to the Quenes Grace of Ingland. Maister, I haif resavit diverse letters frome you, and yit I have ansourit to naine of thayme: of the quhylke albeit I haif mony excusis, as age, forgetfulnes, besines, and disease, yit I wyl use nane as now, eccept my sweirness and your gentilnes; and geif ye thynk nane of theise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt wtout fear of punition to follow on my onkindnes. As for the present, I am occupiit in writyng of our historie, being assurit to content few, and to displease mony tharthrow. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippin not for it, nor nane other writyngs from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhilk haldis me besy both day and nyt. And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I traist to God to go before yow, albeit I be on fut, and ye ryd *the post:*

and Randolph's in the English language. In the collection is a French letter of Buchanan, addressed to M. de Sigongues, who had been governor, while Buchanan was preceptor, to Timoleon de Cossé,[n] and who was afterwards governor of the city and castle of Dieppe. These two are the only epistles of his which are not written in Latin. The correspondence of Buchanan was originally published by James Oliphant; who appears to have been but indifferently qualified for such an undertaking.[o] The collection only occupies a very inconsiderable volume; nor can it be sufficiently regretted that there is little probability of its ever being augmented.

Though so small a portion of his correspondence has been preserved, it is certain that his intercourse with learned foreigners was very extensive: and he may be supposed to have been acquainted with most of the remarkable scholars of whom his native country could then boast; with the exception however of such as were separated from him by theological and political

praying you als not to *dispost* my hoste at Newwerk, Jone of Kelsterne. Thys I pray you, partly for his awyne sake, quhame I thot ane gud fellow, and partly at request of syk as I dar not refuse. And thus I tak my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleasis committing you to the protection of the almytty. At Sterling xxv. day of August, 1577.

Yours to command wt service,

G. Buchanan."

[n] Brantome, Vies des Hommes Illustres, tom. iii, p. 459.

[o] Georgii Buchanani Scoti ad Viros sui seculi Clarissimos, eorumque ad eundem, Epistolæ. Lond. 1711, 8vo.

prejudices. The celebrated John Knox, who had likewise been a pupil of Mair at St. Andrews, seems to have belonged to the number of his friends.[p] The talents of Knox, if we may judge from their effects, were powerful and commanding: his share of acquired knowledge was far from being inconsiderable; his eloquence was vehement and impressive; his vernacular style is copious, forcible, and, for the age in which he lived, not inelegant.[q] He died at Edinburgh in

[p] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 8. Bezæ Epistolæ Theologicæ, p. 336.

[q] King James, if we may rely on John Barclay, regarded Knox as a *warlock*. "Ut de cæteris sileam, Knoxium (quem Beza Apostolum Scotiæ vocat non impium modo fuisse, sed magum, serenissimus Britanniarum rex sæpe magnis argumentis asseruit." (*Paranesis ad Sectarios*, p. 38. Romæ, 1617, 8vo.) Calvin and Beza seem to have regarded him in a very different light. Two epistles from Calvin to Knox, and one from Knox to Calvin, are preserved. (Calvini *Epistolæ*, p. 460, 461, 503, edit. Lausan. 1576, 8vo.) Two of the epistles of Beza are addressed to this Scotish apostle. (Bezæ *Epistolæ Theologicæ*, p. 333. 344. Genevæ, 1573, 8vo.) One of them opens in an elegant strain of affection. "Etsi tanto terrarum et maris ipsius intervallo disjuncti corporibus sumus, mi Cnoxe, tamen minime dubito quin inter nos semper viguerit et ad extremum vigeat summa illa animorum conjunctio, unius ejusdemque spiritus fideique vinculo sancita." A high elogium of Knox occurs in Beza's *Icones Virorum Illustrium*, sig. Ee. iij. Genevæ, 1580, 4to. Of this work, a French version was published under the title of *Les Vrais Pourtraits des Hommes Illustres en Pieté et Doctrine*. Geneve, 1581, 4to. In the translation are inserted original verses on Knox, Patrick Hamilton, Adam Wallace, and Alexander Hales. It is not professedly executed by Beza himself; but it is hardly to be supposed that a mere translator would have intermingled verses of his own.

A remarkable passage respecting Knox occurs in Milton's *Areopagitica*, p. 302. "Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life-time, and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a ventrous edge, utter'd in the height

the month of November 1572, and the Papists immediately began to revile his memory in a most inhuman manner. Archibald Hamilton, one of their most bitter revilers, attempted to involve Buchanan in the same infamy.[r] His work was formally refuted by Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow; who has vindicated the character of Knox with great zeal and success. Smeton has incidentally extolled Buchanan as the glory of the age, as a miracle of erudition, as the prince and parent of all learning and of all the learned, as an exemplar of ancient virtue and piety, as an ornament to Scotland and to human nature.[s]

Andrew Melvin, principal of St. Mary's College St. Andrews, is entitled to a place among the accomplished friends of Buchanan. He was himself a Latin poet of no mean character; and

of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine spirit? yet not suiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were Knox himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash: the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulnesse, or the presumptuous rashnesse of a perfunctory licencer. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season." This treatise of Milton appeared in 1644; and in the very same year, David Buchanan's edition of Knox's history of the reformation was published in London.

[r] Hamiltonius de Confusione Calvinanæ Sectæ apud Scotos. Paris. 1577, 8vo.

[s] Smetonii ad Virulentum Hamiltonii Dialogum Orthodoxa Responsio, p. 44, 89. Edinb. 1579, 4to.

has composed many verses in celebration of Buchanan, whom he addresses as his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses. Melvin was a stern and undaunted presbyter: when cited before the king and privy council, to answer to the charge of sedition, he deported himself with a degree of resolution which bordered on extreme insolence.[t] It was his duty to teach theology to the students of his college; but he was apt to discuss some of the great topics of political science, with a freedom of sentiment which he had perhaps imbibed from his illustrious friend. It was alleged by Archbishop Spotswood that his pupils bestowed more attention on Buchanan's political dialogue, than on Calvin's theological institution.[u] This poetical and political divine was a man of powerful talents; profoundly skilled in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages.[x] But his fervent admiration of a particular form of ecclesiastical polity betrayed him into considerable excesses. Buchanan, as appeared from their final interview, entertained no mean opinion of his literature; and Melvin's attachment to his preceptor was

[t] Stuart's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 258.

[u] Spotswood, Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 67. Lond. 1620, 8vo.

[x] Archbishop Spotswood, who cannot be suspected of any undue prejudice in his favour, has yielded his suffrage to Melvin's literary pretensions. "Redit in patriam Andreas Melvinus bonis literis excultus, et trium linguarum, quarum eo seculo ignorantia, illi famam et tantum non admirationem apud omnes peperit, callentissimus." (*Ibid.* p. 31.)

filial and enthusiastic. Buchanan's benevolence and urbanity, united to his unrivalled intelligence, seem to have rendered his familiarity highly grateful to ingenuous and aspiring youth; and it unquestionably afforded him a generous pleasure to mark and accelerate the progress of the tender and plastic mind.[y] The premature death of Alexander Cockburn he has commemorated in terms so remote from vulgar regret, that it would be unpardonable in his biographer to leave unnoticed what was apparently so interesting to his feelings.

Omnia quæ longa indulget mortalibus ætas,
Hæc tibi, Alexander, prima juventa dedit:
Cum genere et forma generoso stemmate digna,
Ingenium velox, ingenuumque animum.
Excoluit virtus animum, ingeniumque Camœnæ
Successu, studio, consilioque pari.
His ducibus primum peragrata Britannia, deinde
Gallia ad armiferos qua patet Helvetios:
Doctus ibi linguas, quas Roma, Sion, et Athenæ,
Quas cum Germano Gallia docta sonat.
Te licet in prima rapuerunt fata juventa,
Non immaturo funere raptus obis.
Omnibus officiis vitæ qui functus obivit,
Non fas est vitæ de brevitate queri.[z]

[y] "Erat enim vir ille," says Alexander Yule, who in his youth had been personally acquainted with Buchanan, "ea ingenii dexteritate, ut cum pueris repuerascere, et ad omnes omnium ætatum usus modeste et sapienter sese accommodare et posset et vellet." (Julii *Ecphrasis Paraphraseos G. Buchanani in Psalmos Davidis*, epist. nunc. Lond. 1620, 8vo.)

[z] Buchanani Epigram. lib. ii, 26.

Not satisfied with this enviable tribute, he has anxiously devoted another elegant little poem to the commemoration of talents and virtues, which might otherwise have remained without a lasting memorial.

Ingratis vexata hominum Natura querelis,
Et sterilis lassis credita visceribus,
Cocburnum in lucem dedit, et rude pignus alendum
Mnemosynes natis tradidit et Sophiæ :
Sors, ubi maturis accessit robur ab annis,
Addidit et dotes ambitiosa suas.
Sed sibi præferri Virtutem irata, doloris
Exegit pœnas vindice morte sui.
Si numeres annos, cecidit florente juventa,
Si studia, et mores, et benefacta, senex.[a]

Some of these expressions seem to elevate this youthful prodigy to a competition with the admirable Crichton ; nor can it fail to excite the most poignant regret, that intellectual splendour capable of attracting the admiration of Buchanan, should thus have been extinguished in its earliest dawn. The untimely fate of an ingenuous youth, adorned with superlative talents, and panting perhaps with a feverish pulse for the sublimity of fame, is one of the most interesting objects that can arrest the attention of a pensive mind.

Alexander Cockburn, for the subject cannot be dismissed but with reluctance, is said to have

[a] Buchanani Miscell. xii.

died in the year 1572, at the age of twenty-five.[b] Dempster, the suspicious author of this report, likewise affirms that he composed various works, and that some of them had fallen under his own inspection. Hume of Godscroft commemorates the premature death of an Alexander Cockburn, son to the laird of Langton.[c]

The infirmities of age, and a multiplicity of engagements, did not render Buchanan unmindful of his literary character. Having prepared his tragedy of *Baptistes* for the press, he dedicated it to the young king in the year 1576. The dedication is characterized by a manly freedom of sentiment which has never been paralleled on a similar occasion.[d] The precarious state of his health did not however permit him to complete his poem *De Sphæra*, which he had begun several years before. In the month of September 1576, he informed Tycho Brahe that during the two precedent years he had been so severely af-

b Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 183.

c Humii Poemata, p. 110. Paris. 1639, 8vo.—Daniel Rogers mentions a Captain Cockburn, who seems to have been one of Buchanan's friends. See the epistle inserted in Mr. Ruddiman's preface, p. xx.

d Some of the expressions are too remarkable to be omitted. "Illud autem peculiarius ad te videri potest spectare, quod tyrannorum cruciatus, et, cum florere maxime videntur, miserias dilucide exponat. Quod te nunc intelligere non conducibile modo, sed etiam necessarium existimo; ut mature odisse incipias quod tibi semper est fugiendum. Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus, vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante, secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse."

flicted with violent diseases, as to be hardly able to devote a single hour to composition; so that besides other projects of less moment, he was compelled to relinquish his astronomical poem in an unfinished state, and even to abandon the hope of renewing his poetical efforts.[e] At the distance of three years, he again alludes to the frustration of this plan with some degree of regret.[f] A fragment of the poem was inserted in an edition of his poetical works which appeared after his decease;[g] and in 1587, as much of it as he had completed was published by John Pincier, a German professor, who has added supplements to the fourth and fifth books.[h] The same defi-

[e] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 14.

[f] "Astronomica," says Buchanan, "non tam abjeci, quam extorqueri invitus tuli; neque enim aut nunc libet nugari, aut si maxime vellem, per ætatem licet." (*Epistolæ*, p. 25.)

[g] Genevæ, 1584, 8vo.

[h] Sphæra; a Georgio Buchanano Scoto, Poetarum nostri seculi facile Principe, quinque libris descripta, multisque in locis ex collatione aliorum exemplorum integritati restituta: cui accessere libri quarti et quinti, quos autor non absolverat, Supplementa, autore Johanne Pinciero, Aulæ Dillebergensis Medico. Herbornæ, 1587, 8vo.—Pincier published a corrected edition of his arguments and supplements, at the end of his *Parerga Otii Marpurgensis Philologica*. Herb. 1617, 8vo. This philological work includes many occasional remarks on Buchanan. See pages 117, 125, 127, 196, 253, 267, 307, 350, 380, 534, 634. He is the author of several other publications, and among the rest, of a curious poem which bears the title of "*Otium Marpurgense*, in sex libros digestum: quibus fabrica corporis humani, insertis passim disputationibus, historiis, et fabulis ad rem pertinentibus, facili ac perspicuo carmine describitur." Herb. 1614, 8vo. In one of the epigrams prefixed, he records some particulars of his own history. Pincier was born at Wettera in the year 1556; but the time of his death is uncertain. (Freheri *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, p. 1305. Noribergæ, 1688, fol.)

ciencies were afterwards supplied by our countryman Adam King; who has composed several other poems in the Latin language.[1] Though the efforts of these two poets are not despicable, yet they evidently serve as a foil to the more happy effusions of Buchanan. That he did not himself complete so remarkable a production, must excite considerable regret. To invest so intricate a subject with the precision of science, and with the allurements of poetry, certainly required talents of no ordinary denomination. His versification is elegant and lofty. In illustrating some of the abstruser parts of astronomy, he evinces a happy dexterity peculiar to himself. His acquaintance with the dogmas of ancient philosophy was familiar; and if he has occasionally been betrayed into a radical error in science, it must be remembered that he wrote in the sixteenth century. The difficulties of the subject,

i King likewise illustrated this poem of Buchanan with a commentary, which Mr. Ruddiman has characterized as "luculentum admodum omnigenæque eruditionis copia refertum." Though he certainly intended it for publication, it never made its appearance; but the manuscript is preserved in the library of the university of Edinburgh. His poems occur in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. He published a Scotish translation of the catechism of Canisius. Dempster, who imputes to him other works, has extolled him as a miracle of learning. "Adamus Regius, vulgo *Kyng*, Edimburgensis, bonis artibus instructissimus, ad miraculum usque doctus, maximo auditorum concursu philosophiam Parisiis docuit, et [disciplinas] mathematicas, in quibus facile eo sæculo princeps habebatur." *(Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 576.) David Chalmers denominates him "vir doctissimus, *historiographus* clarissimus." *(De Scotorum Fortitudine*, p. 46.)

which might seem almost insuperable, afforded him an opportunity of displaying that singular combination of talents for which he was so pre-eminent; but he might easily have selected some theme of a more popular nature. Poetical astronomy cannot hope to allure a very numerous class of readers. The principal object indeed of poetry is not profit but pleasure: if however a scientific poem be intended for solid instruction, the endless progression of human knowledge will speedily abridge the importance of almost every precept which it may contain; and when the scientific part is completely obsolete, the poetry will no longer be found attractive. Aratus, Germanicus,[k] and Manilius, among the ancient poets, had applied their talents to the embellishment of astronomical subjects; and perhaps the most remarkable of Buchanan's successors in the same department is Boscovich, who has written a Latin poem on the solar and lunar eclipses. Manilius, from whom the Scotish author apparently derived considerable aid, has evinced an elegant and copious fancy; but, in the judgment of Scaliger, his science was not sufficiently accurate or profound.[l] Some of the digressive parts of his work are extremely beautiful, but the whole cannot be perused with uninterrupted pleasure. Buchanan's poem, though less generally relished

k See Grotii Syntagma Arateorum. Lugd. Bat. 1600, 4to.

l Jos. Scaliger ad Manilium, p. 10.

than most of his other productions, contains passages of superlative excellence: without anxious research, the opening of the fifth book may be particularized as an adequate specimen. The hexameters of this poet are not the least perfect of his various measures. His pauses are distributed with eminent skill; his verses are sonorous and magnificent. The complexion of his mind did not lead him to entertain the sole ambition of transfusing the characteristic beauties of some particular poet: of the majestic suavity of Virgil he has caught no inconsiderable portion; but his genius was original, and the Virgilian graces would often have been incompatible with the subjects which he had chosen. He was familiarly acquainted with every poet of the purer ages of antiquity; and had even profited by the perusal of Claudian, whom he mentions in terms of high respect.[m] Claudian, who appeared long after the decline of Roman literature, succeeded in reviving it with some degree of ancient splendour; and although his writings partake of the general deterioration of the age, yet his genius was elegant, vivid, and lofty.

Notwithstanding the precarious state of his health, and the number of his avocations, Buchanan had found leisure to compose a most profound and masterly compendium of political phi-

[m] Buchanan. de Jure Regni apud Scotos, p. 18.

losophy.[n] Its professed subject are the rights of the crown of Scotland; but the work comprehends a subtle and eloquent delineation of the general principles of government. The origin of this production is sufficiently detailed in the author's manly dedication to his royal pupil. "Several years ago," says Buchanan, "when our affairs were in a most turbulent condition, I composed a dialogue on the prerogatives of the Scotish crown; in which I endeavoured to explain from their very cradle, if I may adopt that expression, the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects. Although the work

[n] De Jure Regni apud Scotos, Dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano Scoto. Edimburgi, apud Joannem Roseum pro Henrico Charteris. Cum privilegio regali, 1579, 4to.—Archdeacon Blackburne mentions an edition published during the same year without any notification of the place of printing. (*Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* vol. ii, p. 549.) There are several other editions in a separate form. Sine loci indicio, 1580, 4to. Edinb. 1581, 4to. Glasg. 1750, 12mo. Lond. 1765, 8vo. This work is printed with all the editions of the history except the first. It has repeatedly been translated into English. In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, Mr. Todd, the editor of Milton and Spenser, pointed out to me a MS. version which bears the following title. "A Dialogue made by George Buchanan, Schottishman, of the Prerogative and Right of the Kingly Governement in Scotlande." It has this colophon: "Finis, Maii 4, 1607. Labour no burden to Love." (N°. 509.) In the year 1680, a translation was published in duodecimo, but the place of printing is concealed. This is evidently the version alluded to by Sir George Mackenzie: "Buchannan's book *De Jure Regni* being lately translated and many copies dispers'd, his majesties advocate, in duty to the king, and compassion to the people, who are thus likely to be poison'd, has written this answer." The dialogue has been exhibited in an English dress at several other times. Lond. 1689, 4to. Edinb. 1691, 12mo. Lond. 1721, 8vo. The last translation that has appeared was executed by Mr. Macfarlan. Lond. 1799, 8vo.

seemed to be of some immediate utility, by silencing certain individuals who with importunate clamours rather inveighed against the existing state of things, than examined what was conformable to the standard of reason, yet in consequence of returning tranquillity, I willingly consecrated my arms to public concord. But having lately met with this disputation among my papers, and supposed it to contain many precepts necessary to your tender age (especially as it is so conspicuously elevated in the scale of human affairs), I have deemed its publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community. Many circumstances tend to convince me that my present exertions will not prove fruitless; especially your age, yet uncorrupted by perverse opinions; a disposition above your years, spontaneously urging you to every noble pursuit; a facility in obeying not only your preceptors, but all prudent monitors; a judgment and dexterity in disquisition, which prevent you from paying much regard to authority, unless it be confirmed by solid argument. I likewise perceive that by a kind of natural instinct you so abhor flattery, the nurse of tyranny, and the most grievous pest of a legitimate monarchy, that you as heartily hate the courtly solecisms and barbarisms as they are relished and affected by those who consider themselves as the

arbiters of every elegance, and who, by way of seasoning their conversation, are perpetually sprinkling it with majesties, lordships, excellencies, and, if possible, with other expressions still more putid. Although the bounty of nature and the instruction of your governors may at present secure you against this error, yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion lest evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your still-tender mind; especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as a monitor, but even as an importunate and sometimes impudent dun, who in this turn of life may convoy you beyond the rocks of adulation; and may not merely offer you advice, but confine you to the path which you have entered, and, if you should chance to deviate, may reprehend you and recall your steps. If you obey this monitor, you will insure tranquillity to yourself and to your subjects, and will transmit a brilliant reputation to the most remote posterity."[o]

o "Crawfurd," exclaims Mr. Chalmers, "was so absurd as to say, *that Buchanan laid it* [the dialogue] *as a scheme of politics before his royal pupil!*" (P. 344.) It would be no difficult task to mention an individual infinitely more absurd than "poor Crawfurd, with his feeble eyes." If Mr. Chalmers had ever read Buchanan's dedication, he would have spared his insult.

Cæcus videntes cæcitatis arguit.

This dedication, which is dated at Stirling on the tenth of January 1579, affords another proof of his solicitude to form the character of a patriot king; and it is only to be regretted that his favourable prognostications should have proved so fallacious. The work itself is exhibited in the form of a dialogue between the author, and Thomas the son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. This interlocutor was likewise a votary of the Latian Muses;[p] and his illustrious friend seems to have entertained a favourable opinion of his juvenile efforts. He was a younger bro-

[p] Thomas Maitland composed the subsequent verses in commendation of Buchanan's paraphrase of the psalms.

En lector lepido tibi libello,
Docto, Jupiter! et brevi libello,
Donatos Latio nitore cantus
Vatis fatidici lyræ suaves;
Tanto floridius venustiusque,
Quanto cultior elegantiorque
Hebræis Latia est Camœna Musis.
Dat vates Buchananus ille princeps,
Et flos Aoniæ cohortis unus,
Tanto suavior omnibus poetis,
Tanto clarior omnibus poetis,
Quanto psalmographus potentior rex
Est, et sanctior omnibus poetis.

Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii, p. 178.

Between these interlocutors some family connexion must have subsisted. One of the daughters of Sir Richard Maitland was married to James Heriot of Trabroun, probably the cousin of Buchanan. (Crawfurd, p. 252. Douglas, p. 393.) Mr. Innes mentions a letter of T. Maitland to Queen Mary, "in which he protests to her majesty, that his being brought interlocutor into that dialogue, to say whatever Buchanan thought proper for his purpose, was wholly Buchanan's own invention." (*Critical Essay*, vol. i, p. 359.)

ther of William Maitland, whom Buchanan has so keenly satirized in the *Chamæleon*. The exordium of this political dialogue is not uninteresting. "When Thomas Maitland lately returned from France and I had carefully interrogated him with regard to the state of affairs in that kingdom, I began, from a motive of personal attachment, to exhort him to persevere in that course of glory which he had commenced, and to inspire him with the best hopes respecting the progress of his studies. For if I, with moderate talents, with hardly any pecuniary resources, and in an unlearned age, have yet maintained such a conflict with the iniquity of the times as to be thought to have effected something, assuredly they who, born in a happier age, are abundantly blest with youth, wealth, and genius, should neither be deterred by labour from so honourable a pursuit, nor, when aided by so many supports, can yield to despair. They ought therefore to persist with strenuousness in advancing the glory of letters, and in recommending themselves and their countrymen to the regard of posterity. A little perseverence in their literary efforts would serve to banish from the minds of men an opinion, that those who inhabit the frigid regions of the globe are as remote from literature, politeness, and every species of intellectual cultivation, as they are distant from the sun. For although nature may have favoured the Africans, Egyptians,

and various other nations, with more prompt conceptions, and greater keenness of intellect, yet to no people has she been so unpropitious as to preclude them from all access to virtue and glory.[q]

" After he had, according to his wonted modesty, spoken of himself with reserve, but of me with more affection than truth, the course of conversation at length conducted us so far, that when he had interrogated me concerning the turbulent state of our native country, and I had returned such an answer as I then deemed suitable, I began in my turn to question him respecting the opinion generally entertained of our transactions, either by the French, or by such strangers as he had met in France. For I was sufficiently aware that the novelty of the events, as is usually the case, must have furnished occasion and materials for universal discussion."

Buchanan's dialogue excited a degree of attention which will not appear surprizing, when we consider the high reputation of the author, and the boldness of the precepts which he inculcated. " Your dialogue *De Jure Regni*," says his correspondent Rogers, " which you transmitted to me by Zolcher the letter-carrier of our friend Sturmius, I have received; a present which would be extremely agreeable to me, if the importunate

[q] Bartholinus, a learned Dane, has not neglected to enforce the same doctrine. (*De Libris Legendis*, p. 46. Hafniæ, 1676, 8vo.)

entreaties of some persons did not prevent me from enjoying it: for the moment it was delivered into my hand, Dr. Wilson requested the loan of it: he yielded it to the importunity of the chancellor; from whom the treasurer procured a perusal of it, and has not yet returned it: so that to this day it has never been in my custody. The work is commended by those who possess ingenuity, directed by judgment, and improved by an acquaintance with public business, and who remark the present aspect of political affairs; but it is rejected by those who study to conciliate by means of flattery the favour of princes, and who wish the reins of law to be relaxed according to their pleasure: almost all admire the genius of a man who in the declining winter of age, is capable of imitating with such dexterity the Platonic mode of composition. I have laid my injunctions on Vautrollier,[r] a very honest man who is the bearer of this letter, to procure some copies which I intend to communicate to our friends. For Sturmius, Metellus,[s] Hotman, Dou-

[r] "Thomas Vautrollier, a Frenchman," says Mr. Herbert, "was a scholar and printer, as is said, from Paris or Rouen, who came into England about the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's reign, and was admitted a brother of the stationers' company, Oct. 2, 1564, for which he paid ijs. vjd. He set up his press in Black-friars, where it appears to have continued all his lifetime, notwithstanding his residence for some time in Scotland." (*Typographical Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 1065.)

[s] Joannes Metellus, a native of Franche Comté, was closely connected with some of the eminent scholars of the age. While he prosecuted his studies at Bologna, he contracted an intimacy with Augustinus and

sa, and other friends, expect your dialogue with eagerness."[t] Of Hotman's connexion with Buchanan no other document occurs; but his genius and erudition amply entitled him to Buchanan's regard.[u] He is the author of a famous political work, entitled *Francogallia*,[x] which bears

Osorius: Augustinus and Metellus are the interlocutors in the dialogue of Osorius *De Gloria*. Metellus afterwards attended Augustinus during his nunciate to England; and he there became acquainted with Roger Ascham. He resided a long time at Cologne. Though he wished for a reformation in the Catholic church, he did not secede. His cotemporaries have frequently mentioned him as a man of learning; but his literary productions are inconsiderable. He laid the foundation of a work which was completed after his decease: it bears the title of *Asia Tabulis Æneis secundum rationes geographicas Delineata*. Ursellis, 1600, fol. The Bodleian catalogue ascribes to him an *Epistola de Lusitanorum Navigationibus in utramque Indiam*. Col. Agrip. 1576, 8vo. Ten of his epistles occur in the collection of Heinsius, entitled "Illustrium et Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ Selectiores, superiore sæculo scriptæ vel a Belgis, vel ad Belgas." Lugd. Bat. 1617, 8vo. See also Aschami *Epistolæ*, p. 424, edit. Elstob, and Burmanni *Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. i, p. 60, tom. ii, p. 288. Verses by Metellus are prefixed to Stewechius's edition of Vegetius, Antv. 1585, 4to, and to Suffridus Petrus *De Scriptoribus Frisiæ*. Col. Agrip. 1593, 8vo. He reëdited two productions of his elegant friend Osorius. (*De Rebus Gestis Emmanuelis*. Col. Agrip. 1574, 8vo. *De Regis Institutione et Disciplina*. *Ibid.* 1588, 8vo.) To these editions he has prefixed long dedications, which are chiefly remarkable for the singularity of the punctuation. In his superscription he denominates himself "Jo. Matalius Metellus, J. C. Sequanus." He is mentioned in De Liques' *Vie de Philippes de Mornay*, p. 15, 17. The suavity of his disposition and the multiplicity of his erudition, are commemorated by Osorius. (*In Gualterum Haddonum*, f. 8. Olysippone, 1567, 4to.)

[t] Buchanani Epistolæ, p 22.

[u] Hotman mentions him in very respectful terms. "Animadverti præterea Dionys. Lambinum in suis scholiis in Orat. Ciceron. pro Cæcina, scripsisse Georgium Buchananum singulari doctrina virum, &c. Buchanani judicio nemo plus tribuit, quam ego." (Hotomani *Observationes*, lib. ii, cap. xix.)

[x] Genevæ, 1573, 8vo.

some affinity to that of our countryman. Another work of a similar complexion presents in its title-page, the same time and place of printing as the dialogue of Buchanan. This production bears the title of *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*;[y] a title which alone was sufficient in those days to excite a general alarm among the advocates of hereditary tyranny. It has been imputed to Buchanan,[z] Hotman, Beza, Mornay, and to various other authors; but it appears with a considerable degree of certainty that its real author was Hubert Languet.[a]

[y] Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos: sive de Principis in Populum, Populique in Principem, Legitima Potestate, Stephano Junio Bruto Celta auctore. *Edimburgi*, anno M.D.LXXIX, 8vo.

Another remarkable work of the same class, and of the same age, is that of the famous Jesuit Mariana, *De Rege et Regis Institutione*. Toleti, 1599, 4to. This composition is distinguished by the very uncommon boldness of its sentiments; but it is not a little deformed by the author's professional bias.

[z] This production has only been imputed to Buchanan by the inadvertency of Placcius. (*Theatrum Anon. et Pseudon.* tom. ii, p. 143.) In the work which he quotes as his authority, Buchanan is clearly distinguished from the author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. See the *Acta Eruditorum anno* 1684 *publicata*, p. 22, or the book which is there quoted, Jurieu's *Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en Parallele*, tom. ii, p. 286.

[a] See Bayle's *Dissertation concernant le livre d'Etienne Junius Brutus*, appended to the last volume of his dictionary; and Blackburne's *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* vol. i, p. 129, vol. ii, p. 545. Languet has also been reputed the author of a book entitled "De Furoribus Gallicis Vera et Simplex Narratio, Ernesto Varamundo Frisio auctore." *Edimburgi*, 1573, 4to. His biographer contends that this composition could not proceed from the pen of Languet, because it betrays great ignorance of French affairs. (Marii *Vita Huberti Languetti*, p. 68.) But this reasoning is fallacious; for if Languet undertook so hazardous a work, it

That Buchanan's political principles rendered him extremely odious to the more zealous of the Popish party, may, without offering any wanton insult to their memory, be recorded as highly honourable to his. Between the Catholics of those and of the present times, every Protestant of common intelligence and candour will readily acknowledge a wide and glaring distinction: he will not be more inclined to compare them together, than to assimilate himself to the bigoted and persecuting Protestants of the sixteenth, or even of the seventeenth century. In point of liberality, the two denominations will not now be found so essentially different as some individuals may be inclined to suppose: and in a country like this, where they are blended with each other, Protestants and Catholics who have enjoyed similar advantages of education, may very fairly be placed on the same level. Nor ought it here to be forgotten that, from the age of Erasmus to that of Dr. Geddes, the Catholic church has produced many writers who, in genuine liberality and benevolence of sentiment, do not yield to any of their Protestant brethren. If religion could be extricated from politics, which so frequently absorb its vital essence, the animosities of Christian sects might speedily subside; and as every man is persuaded that his own religion is

must have been a principal object of his care to preserve the assumed character of a foreigner.

the best, he might quietly enjoy his felicity, without endeavouring to disturb the religious meditations of his neighbour. During the age of Buchanan however, and especially in those countries where the reformation had newly reared its standard, the Popish writers inculcated many pernicious doctrines, and generally conducted their enquiries with great ferocity.

In the course of a few years, his tenets were formally attacked by his learned countrymen Blackwood, Winzet, and Barclay. They were also attacked, though in an indirect manner, by Sir Thomas Craig,[b] and by Sir John Wemyss,[c] who were both of the reformed religion. Craig was a Presbyterian, and his learning and virtue reflected the highest honour on that denomination. Sir George Mackenzie, the servile tool of a most profligate court, undertook to defend against Buchanan the same slavish maxims of polity; and it must be acknowledged that he lived at a period when it was expedient enough to persuade his fellow subjects, that the persons of good and bad kings are equally sacred and inviolable. "The right divine of kings to govern wrong," was a very suitable doctrine for the mi-

[b] Cragii de Jure Successionis Regni Angliæ libri duo. MS. penes D. I.—Of this work, the original has never been printed; but a translation of it was published by Bishop Gatherer, under the title of *The Right of Succession to the Kingdom of England.* Lond. 1703, fol.

[c] Wemii Βασιλέως Ὑπεροχὴ, sive de Regis Primatu Libellus. Edinb. 1623, 4to.

nisters of Charles and James. In another work, Mackenzie has exhibited a further specimen of his talent for historical and political investigation: the learned Bishop Lloyd had rationally exploded the fabulous catalogue of our ancient kings; and his majesty's advocate very wisely maintained, that he who denies the antiquity of the royal line is guilty of *lese-majesty*. In the course of the seventeenth century, the leading principles of Buchanan were also oppugned by Sir Lewis Stewart, a lawyer, and by Sir James Turner, a soldier. The former wrote in Latin,[d] the latter in English;[e] but neither of their productions has been printed; and the republic of letters has probably sustained no very heavy detriment by their long suppression. He was incidentally assailed by many foreign authors; and, among the rest, by Henningus Arnisæus, who, though a man of learning, was bewildered by the current doctrine of the divine and indefeasible right of kings, and the passive obedience of subjects. Grotius, though born under a free republic, and certainly a man of a great and liberal mind, did not entirely escape the contamination of those slavish maxims that were so prevalent during the age in which

[d] Ruddiman's Answer to Logan's Treatise on Government, p. 186. Edinb. 1747, 8vo.—Mr. Ruddiman afterwards prosecuted his controversy with Logan, in an elaborate "Dissertation concerning the Competition for the Crown of Scotland, betwixt Bruce and Baliol, in the year 1291." Edinb. 1748, 8vo.

[e] Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 15.

he lived: the right of resisting any superior power which happens to be established, he has discussed in a manner that could hardly offend the completest despot in Europe.[f] It is the perpetual fault of those writers, to found their principal theories on passages of scripture which are not didactic or exegetical, but merely historical. The degrading doctrine of divine right and passive obedience was inculcated by Salmasius,[g] Bochart,[h] Usher,[i] and indeed by several very able men who approached much nearer to our own times; it is however a doctrine which no Briton, capable of reflection, will now hesitate a single moment in rejecting with the utmost indignation. So slow, and yet so certain, is the progress of reason; which, however retarded in its course, or absorbed by the quicksands of ambition, avarice, and superstition, will never fail to roll onward with one irresistible tide, till it at length reach the ocean of eternity. That this general tide is only beginning to flow; that even in those countries which at present are most enlightened, some of the principal topics of human speculation are only beginning to be understood; may perhaps be regarded as no very absurd conjecture. "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant na-

f Grotius de Jure Belli, lib. i, cap. iv.

g Salmasii Defensio Regia. *Sumptibus regiis*, 1649, fol. et 12mo.

h Bocharti Opera, tom. i, col. 988.

i Usher's Power communicated by God to the Prince, and Obedience required of the Subject. Lond. 1661, 4to.

tion rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, and those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means."[k]

But the full measure of Buchanan's ignominy has not yet been related. In the year 1584 the parliament condemned his dialogue and history "as not meet to remain for records of truth to posterity;" and, under a penalty of two hundred pounds, commanded every person who possessed copies, to surrender them within forty days, in order that they might be purged of "the offensive and extraordinary matters" which they contained. In 1683, the loyal and orthodox university of Oxford doomed to the flames the political works of Buchanan, Milton, Languet, and several other heretics.[l] The Scotish parliament, the

[k] Milton's Areopagitica, p. 345.

[l] Smithi Vita R. Huntingtoni, p. xxv.—"The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford, passed in their Convocation, July 21, 1683, against certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines, destructive to the sacred Persons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society," may be found in *Lord Sommers's Tracts*, vol. iii, p. 223. The first of these damnable doctrines is, that "All civil authority is derived originally from the people." This notable decree found a panegyrist in some nameless member of Christ Church. The subsequent passage of his *Decretum Oxoniense* relates to Buchanan.

English university, and the Popish tribunal of inquisition, seem to have regarded this unfortunate speculator with equal abhorrence. All the despicable arts of ignorance, superstition, and sycophancy, have not however been able to quench the vital principle of his immortal productions; but, like oil added to a rising flame, have only served to augment their splendour.[m]

Other individuals, and those too of great name, have viewed him in a different light: he has found enthusiastic admirers among the most enlightened of modern scholars; and the effects of his bold and manly speculations have been widely felt. It was objected to Milton that he had stolen his celebrated defence of the people of England from the eloquent work of Buchanan.[n] And what are

> Ille etiam Scotica qui quondam turbidus aula
> Jus regum angusti contraxit limite gyri,
> Qui toties populos immisit in arma furentes,
> Multaque subjecit gliscenti incendia bello,
> Nunc ignem subit, et flammis ultricibus ardet.
>
> Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta, vol. ii, p. 181.

The Oxford decree was dutifully presented to Charles the second; and, about thirty years afterwards, was treated with that respect which it so justly merited. In 1710, the house of lords ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

[m] "Libros per ædiles cremandos censuere patres; sed manserunt occultati, et editi. Quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui præsenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam. Nam contra, punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas: neque aliud externi reges, aut qui eadem sævitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi, atque illis gloriam peperere."

Taciti Annales, lib. iv, § 35.

[n] Dryden's Epistle to the Whigs; prefixed to *The Medal*.—The political work of Buchanan seems to have been read and approved by a pa-

the terrible doctrines which once excited so violent an alarm? Buchanan maintains that all power is derived from the people; that it is more safe to entrust our liberties to the definite protection of the laws, than to the precarious discretion of the king; that the king is bound by those conditions under which the supreme power was originally committed to his hands; that it is lawful to resist, and even to punish tyrants. Those who maintain the contrary, must have recourse to the absurd and exploded doctrine of divine and indefeasible right. When he speaks of the people as opposed to the king, he evidently includes every individual of the nation except one.° And is a noble race of intelligent beings to be assimilated to a tract of land, or to a litter of pigs? to be considered, absolutely and unconditionally, as the lawful patrimony of a family which either merit, accident, or crime, may originally have elevated to the summit of power? What is term-

triot of the first order. A copy of the dialogue, formerly in the possession of Mr. Hollis, exhibited the following sentence, subscribed with the venerable name of CHATHAM. "Ἡμισυ γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἦμαρ. (Blackburne's *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* vol. ii, p. 550.) These remarkable expressions, which had likewise been adopted by Longinus (*De Sublimitate*, § xliii, edit. Tollii), are derived from the subsequent verses of Homer.

"Ἡμισυ γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν.

Odyss. xvii, 322.

° "Nam appellatione populi," says Justinian, "universi cives significantur, connumeratis etiam patriciis et senatoribus." (*Inst.* lib. i, tit. ii, § 4.)

ed loyalty, may, according to the circumstances of the case, be either a virtue or a vice. The doctrine of punishing tyrants in their persons, either by a private arm, or by the public forms of law, is indeed of a delicate and dangerous nature; and it may be considered as amply sufficient, to ascertain the previous right of forcible resistance. But that tyrants ought to be punished, is an abstract proposition which cannot easily be controverted: for under the word tyranny, is generally included all that is most odious and intolerable in human delinquency. If mankind be at length roused to the redress of enormous wrongs, the prince who has either committed or sanctioned a habitual violation of the best rights of the people, will seldom fail to meet with his adequate reward; and in spite of all the slavish theories of his priests and lawyers, mankind will not long be reasoned out of the strongest and most characteristic feelings of their nature. Divine right and passive obedience were never more strenuously inculcated, than in the reign of Charles the first. That Buchanan endeavoured to undermine the very foundations of monarchical government, is an assertion utterly false:[p] he has indeed affirmed, what every man of common sense must admit,

[p] Mr. Hutcheson, a learned and able lawyer, hints at the injustice of this imputation. (*Justice of Peace*, vol. ii, p. 299. Edinb. 1806, 2 vols. 8vo) It has however been renewed in a very recent publication. (Woodhouselee's *Memoirs of Lord Kames*, vol. i, p. 6.)

that it is of little importance whether the supreme magistrate be denominated king, duke, emperor, or consul; but with regard to the distinguishing qualities of a good king, no writer has expressed himself with higher enthusiasm. His general principles seem to be incontrovertible; though it may certainly be admitted that some of his illustrations are not introduced with sufficient caution. That his chief scope was to prepare the nation for receiving Murray as their lawful sovereign, is another calumny which party zeal has frequently propagated; it is a calumny totally unsupported by any degree of probable evidence that could satisfy an unprejudiced mind. Buchanan, like other men who have attained to superlative distinction, had his personal and political enemies; and for every action of his life the worst motives have too often been assigned. He was animated with an ardent and disinterested love of mankind; and it was upon the most enlarged principles that he undertook to instruct them in their dearest rights. The best commentary on his immortal work is the memorable revolution of 1688.

An ardent love of freedom was long a characteristic of the Scotish nation. Mair and Boyce had, in their historical productions, vindicated with becoming zeal the unalienable rights of the people;[q] but to Buchanan must unquestionably

[q] These two writers had completely imbibed the maxims of a free go-

be awarded the high praise of having been the earliest writer who established political science on its genuine basis. The southern part of this island had likewise produced political speculators: Sir John Fortescue had endeavoured to trace the line of distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy; and Sir Thomas More had engrafted his novel theories on the description of an imaginary commonwealth. More afterwards forgot the liberal speculations of his youth: in his *Utopia*,[r] he inculcates the doctrine of religious toleration, and yet he lived to assume the odious

vernment. Mair, who was a doctor of the Sorbonne, inculcates some of the leading doctrines that were afterwards methodized and embellished by his pupil Buchanan. "Populus liber primo regi dat robur, cujus potestas a toto populo dependet; quia aliud jus Fergusius primus rex Scotiæ non habuit: et ita est ubilibet, et ab orbe condito erat communiter. Hoc propter reges Judææ a Deo institutos dico. Si dicas mihi ab Henrico septimo Henricus octavus jus habet, ad primum Anglorum regem ascendam, quærendo a quo ille jus regni habuit; et ita ubivis gentium procedam. Et quod jus a populo habuit dicere necesse est, quia aliud dare non potes: sed sic est quod totus populus in Robertum Bruseum consensit, de republica Scotica optime meritum. Tertio arguitur ad eandem conclusionem probandam: Regem et posteros pro demeritis populus potest exauthorare sicut et primo instituere." (Major *De Gestis Scotorum*, p. 175, edit. Edinb. 1740, 4to.) The whole of the passage from which I have extracted this specimen is extremely curious.

During the minority of King James, several coins were struck with a very remarkable inscription. One side presents a naked sword, supporting a crown on its point, and surrounded with this legend: PRO. ME. SI. MEREOR. IN. ME. "Hoc lemma," says Ruddiman, "(quo et suum adversus reges ingenium prodit) Georgium Buchananum Jacobi VI. præceptorem subministrasse omnes consentiunt." (Andersoni *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*, p. 103. Edinb. 1739, fol.)

[r] Basil. 1518, 4to.

character of a persecutor. That he was himself a victim of divine retribution, it would be indecent to affirm: but it is a historical fact that he was wantonly sacrificed by the execrable tyrant whom he had served with too much zeal. On the solid foundation which had been laid by Buchanan, a spacious edifice was afterwards reared by Milton, Sidney, and Locke; names which every enlightened Briton will always recollect with peculiar veneration. That two of them were republicans, need not alarm the most zealous friends of a legitimate monarchy:[s] if the same individuals had flourished at a more recent period, they would undoubtedly have entertained different sentiments. The principles which prompted stern resistance to the wide encroachments of the house of Stewart, are perfectly compatible with those which recommend a cordial attachment to the house of Hanover.

In the seventy-fourth year of his age, [t]Buchan-

[s] See Dr. Symmons's Life of Milton, p. 519.

[t] The sagacity and erudition of Mr. Chalmers again obstruct our progress. "Ruddiman," he remarks, "gives a sceptical note, which seems to discover his doubts of an assertion, which has never been supported by proof. Yet he saw only part of the truth. He did not perceive, what appears to have been *the fact*, that of this life Sir Peter Young was the author. (*Life of Ruddiman*, p. 68.) Mr. Ruddiman's note, the first on Buchanan's life, is very far from being sceptical; as any person capable of reading it may easily satisfy himself. The reasons which have here convinced Mr. Chalmers, are such as will make no impression on any sound skull. His first reason is, that on the fifteenth of March 1579-80, Randolph advised Young to write Buchanan's life! But the biographical tract in question, as appears from the concluding sentence, was written

an composed a brief sketch of his own life. To this task he was urged by some of his numerous

when Buchanan was in the seventy-fourth year of his age: it was therefore written before the beginning of February 1580, that is, at least a month before Randolph's letter. His second and last reason is, that "Dr. Thomas Smith says expressly, That Peter Young wrote briefly the life of Buchanan" This therefore is a very formidable train of argumentation. "Cujus vitam compendio descripsit," says Dr. Smith in the seventeenth page of his life of Sir Peter Young; but in another part of the same work, he only mentions as a probable conjecture what he had before asserted in positive terms: "Nullus dubito, quin D. Junius importunis D. Thomæ Randolphi, qui crebris in Scotia legationibus functus fuerat, aliorumque precibus et postulationibus obsecutus, Georgii Buchanani, summi sui amici, vitam descripserit." (*Vita Petri Junii*, p. 29.) This mode of writing history must have recommended Dr. Smith to the particular regard of the author of the "*New* Anecdotes." But if Young actually wrote a life of Buchanan, are we under the necessity of concluding that he must have written the identical life which has uniformly been ascribed to Buchanan himself? Mr. Chalmers's notion of evidence is extremely ludicrous. This tract is written in a strain of dignified simplicity, highly becoming an illustrious character who had undertaken to be his own historian; but if the same events and circumstances had been related by a friend, they would undoubtedly have been related in a different manner. On the characteristics of style, I found no argument, for that would be superfluous. The time of its original publication has not been ascertained; but it underwent several impressions before the death of Young. It has invariably been ascribed to Buchanan; and yet neither Sir Peter, nor his learned son Patrick Young, ever informed the world of its spuriousness.

"This writer, whoever he were," proceeds the learned critic, "talks of John Major as being *in extrema senectute*, in 1524, when he was only fifty-five." The period of Mair's birth is neither known to Mr. Chalmers nor to any other person; for Dr. Mackenzie's date is a mere figment. George Crawfurd, the most industrious of his biographers, could discover no better *datum* than this incidental notice of Buchanan: he accordingly refers the birth of Mair to the year 1446.—"He speaks of Henry VIII. as *jam seniore*, in 1539, when he was but *forty-eight*." And therefore he speaks as any man of learning might do without hesitation. Consult Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. x, cap. xxviii.—"He makes

friends;[u] and the annals of literature supplied him with abundant instances of autobiography. The practice, as we learn from Tacitus, was not unusual among the ancient Romans,[x] though not a single specimen has descended to our times. Augustus wrote an account of his own life, consisting of thirteen books;[y] but it has perished with the other literary monuments of that prince. The work of Josephus is the only specimen of this mode of composition which antiquity has bequeathed. More recent examples are exhibited by Erasmus and Cardan; who have likewise been followed in the same tract by Thuanus, Huet, Herbert, Hume, Gibbon, Franklin, Rousseau, Wakefield, and five hundred authors beside. In Cardan and Rousseau

Buchanan meet Cardinal Beaton at Paris, in 1539, a twelve-month after he had returned to Scotland: I am thence led to suspect, that Buchanan made his escape *from St. Andrew's*, by the way of London, to Paris, not in 1539, but in 1538, when he might have met the cardinal." The dates on the margin are not those of the author, but of the editor. In his history, Buchanan however informs us that he did not leave his native country till 1539; and therefore this redoubtable critic may suspect what he pleases. Because Cardinal Beaton was at Paris in 1538, he could not also be at Paris in 1539, is the next proposition.—" I could run through the whole life, and shew similar fooleries, and some malignity, in every page of it." Αὐτῷ ταῦτά σοι εἶδωμ' ἔχειν.

[u] " Hæc de se Buchananus, amicorum rogatu," is the colophon of some of the early editions.

[x] " Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum, quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt. Nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime æstimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur."

TACITI Vita Agricolæ, p. 4, edit. Boxhornii.

[y] Augusti Temporum Notatio, Genus, et Scriptorum Fragmenta, curante J. A. Fabricio, p. 190. Hamb. 1727, 4to.

it might perhaps have been more prudent to leave the task unperformed; for, even according to their own representation, their genius must have been accompanied with a much larger portion of folly. Buchanan's little work is composed with his usual elegance, and with a degree of modesty and candour worthy of so illustrious a character. It has been liberally commended by a most learned writer, who entertained very different opinions relative to some of the leading topics of human speculation.[z]

Buchanan still continued his epistolary correspondence with some of the surviving friends of his earlier days. By the Scotish merchants who resorted to Bourdeaux for the purpose of procuring wine, he annually transmitted a letter to his former colleague Vinetus.[a] But of those letters, only one has been preserved: it is dated at Edinburgh on the sixteenth of March 1581. "Upon receiving accounts of you by the merchants who return from your coasts, I am filled with delight, and seem to enjoy a kind of second youth; for I am then apprized that some remnants of the Portugueze peregrination still exist. As I have now attained to the seventy-fifth

[z] "Parcior fuit et verecundior in narranda vitæ suæ historia Georgius Buchananus, brevis etiam et adstrictus, et candide quoque se ipse denudans, ut nec de novis pravisque religionibus, quæ multorum animos infecerant illa ætate, quid ipse senserit satis dissimulet."

HUETII Comment. de Rebus a eum pertinent. p. 424.

[a] Thuanus de Vita sua, p. 39, edit. Buckley.

year of my age, I sometimes call to remembrance through what toils and inquietudes, I have sailed past all those objects which men commonly regard as pleasing, and have at length struck upon that rock, beyond which (as the ninetieth psalm very truly avers) nothing remains but labour and sorrow. The only consolation which now awaits me, is to pause with delight on the recollection of my coëval friends, of whom you are almost the only one who still survives. Although you are not, as I presume, inferior to me in years, you are yet capable of benefiting your country by your exertion and counsel, and even of prolonging, by your learned compositions, your life to a future age. But I have long bade adieu to letters. It is now the only object of my solicitude, that I may remove with as little noise as possible from the society of my ill-assorted companions; that I who am already dead, may relinquish the fellowship of the living. In the mean time, I transmit to you the youngest of my literary offspring, in order that when you discover it to be the driveling child of age, you may be less anxious about its brothers. I understand that Henry Wardlaw or Νομοφύλαξ, a young man of our nation, and the descendent of a good family, is prosecuting his studies in your seminary with no inconsiderable application. Although I am aware of your habitual politeness, and you are not ignorant that foreigners are peculiarly entitled to your attention, yet I am desirous he should find that

our ancient familiarity recommends him to your favour."[b]

This epistle, says the illustrious Thuanus, was written with a tremulous hand, but in a generous style. He had seen it in the possession of the amiable old man to whom it is addressed; and his high admiration of Buchanan's genius and virtue induced him to record that little circumstance in his modest and interesting account of his own life. The answer of Vinetus is dated at Bourdeaux on the ninth of June 1581. "Your letter of the sixteenth of March was delivered to me on the third of June: and from its being written at such an age, and at such an interval of time and place, and from its mention of our Portugueze peregrination, and of far happier times than the present, nothing could afford me higher delight. I have read it again and again, and read it still; together with the book which you sent as its companion. This book, if I may rely upon my own judgment, and upon that of many friends who were formerly your pupils, and to whom I have lent it, is by no means the production of a driveling author. A certain countryman of yours,[c] a counsellor of the parliament of

[b] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 32.

[c] He alludes to Adam Blackwood; whom Mr. Ruddiman styles "professor of law in the university of Poictiers." (*Vindication of Buchanan*, p. 124.) But it does not appear that he ever taught in that university. See the elogium which Gabriel Naudé has prefixed to "Blacvodæi Opera Omnia." Paris. 1644, 4to. Blackwood lived to publish a second edition of his *Apologia pro Regibus*. Paris. 1588, 8vo.

Poitiers, is however, I understand, of a different opinion; and he has written a book which I shall transmit to you as soon as it is published in that city. What brothers of your literary offspring you allude to that I have not already seen, I know not: for the tragedies, psalms, elegies, and epigrams of George Buchanan are sold here. It is your sphere only, which you are understood to have composed at an earlier period, that many persons, and I among the first, are now anxiously expecting: but perhaps that poem has not yet been prepared for the press by your final correction. The works of mine which you mention are of a puerile kind, and composed for the benefit of the youth whom I educate in this seminary. If you doubt my assertion, you may convince yourself of its accuracy by inspecting my commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis;* which I now present to you, with the epistles of Gelida. With respect to your particular recommendation of Henry Wardlaw, I beg leave to assure you that from the time when I here became acquainted with you, with your personal character and your erudition, I for your sake love and respect all your countrymen, and render them every service in my power; which indeed is very limited. This school is rarely without a Scotishman: it has two at present; one of them is professor of philosophy, the other[d] of the Greek language and of

[d] This was probably Robert Balfour, the learned editor of Cleomedes

mathematics: both are good, honest, and learned men, and enjoy the favourable opinion of their auditors. Farewell; and expect to hear from me frequently, provided I can find a conveyance for my letters."[e]

Elias Vinetus must have interested those who are sufficiently interested in Buchanan; and it may not therefore be superfluous to devote a digressive page to his commemoration. Descended of humble parents, he was born in the village of Vinet, situated in the *châtellenie* of Barbesieux in Saintonge. He received the rudiments of education at Barbesieux, and afterwards studied four years at Poitiers. Having returned to the former place, he there amassed a small sum of money by engaging in the tuition of youth, and was thus enabled to gratify his literary curiosity by paying a visit to Paris. He began to teach humanity in the College of Guienne at Bourdeaux in the year 1539, which was the period when Buchanan likewise became a member of that famous seminary. Having fallen into an infirm state of health, he retired for some time to his native province; and, in 1542, he again betook himself to Paris, where he became acquainted with Anthony Govea.[f] The elder Govea hav-

and commentator on Aristotle. He was afterwards principal of the college.

[e] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 33.

[f] These two dates, 1539 and 1542, are copied from an epistle of Vinetus which Schottus has inserted in his *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, p. 475.

ing invited him back to Bourdeaux, he there continued to discharge his academical functions till the year 1547, when he emigrated with Buchanan and other learned men to the university of Coimbra. What treatment he experienced among the Portugueze, is uncertain; but soon after the death of Govea, he returned to Bourdeaux, and taught humanity and mathematics. After the decease of his friend Gelida, which happened in the year 1556,[g] he succeeded him as principal of the college; which he continued for many years to govern with great credit to himself, and with great utility to the public. Having exceeded the age of seventy-eight, he died on the fourteenth of May 1587.[h] His character seems to have been that of a modest and worthy man. If not entitled to rank with scholars of the first order, he was at least furnished with a very considerable share of erudition. He published some original works,[i] and editions of

[g] In one part of his extensive work, which consists of forty-two volumes in small octavo, Niceron refers the death of Gelida to the nineteenth of February, in another to the nineteenth of June, 1558. (*Memoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xxii, p. 107, tom. xxx, p. 224.) Both these dates are erroneous: Gelida died on the nineteenth of February 1556.

[h] Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres, tom. xxx, p. 224.

[i] One of them is entitled *De Logistica libri tres*. Burd. 1573, 8vo. Vinetus remarks that this art, originally denominated algorism, was derived from the Arabians; and that Joannes de Sacrobosco, who composed a treatise *De Algorismo* about the year 1250, was the earliest writer on the subject with whom he was acquainted. "L'algorismo," says Menage, "propriamente è una aritmetica logica." (*Origini della Lingua Italiana*, p. 43, fol.)

several ancient writers; and has evinced an acquaintance with science as well as literature. His editions of Pomponius Mela and Ausonius were once held in no common estimation: Vossius was of opinion that after Hermolaus Barbarus,[k] no editor had contributed so much to the illustration of the former author.[l]

The last epistle which Buchanan is known to have written, is consonant to the tenor of his benevolent character. It is addressed to his early friend Beza. "Although my attention is divided by various occupations, and the state of my health is so desperate as to leave me no leisure for the common duties of life, yet the departure of Jerome Groslot has banished all my excuses. For as the father, who was a man of distinction, loaded me, during my residence in France, with every species of kindness, and the son has honoured me here as another parent, I was aware that among you I could not escape the heavy charge of ingratitude, if I should now overlook the kindness which I experienced from the one, the pleasant intercourse which I have enjoyed with the other, and the polite attention which you have uniformly paid me. Yet among those who are not unacquainted with my present con-

[k] This learned writer's corrections of Mela are printed with his *Castigationes Plinianæ*. Romæ, 1493, fol. A copy of this rare book is in my possession.

[l] Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, p. 258.

dition, such a fault would readily find its apology. It is my best apology, that all my senses dying before me, what now remains of the image of the former man testifies, not that I am, but that I have been, alive; especially as I can neither cherish the hope of contracting new intimacies, nor of continuing the old. These circumstances I now mention with greater confidence, as the present occasion affords you an opportunity of learning my condition from Groslot: whom it appears superfluous to recommend to your attention. The dispositions of youth disclose themselves without our aid. I have however furnished him with a recommendation, rather to comply with the common practice, than because it is requisite. With regard to myself, since I cannot continue my former mode of life by the reciprocation of friendly offices, I shall refrain from those exertions to which I have long been unequal, and indulge in silence. Farewell. Edinburgh, July the fifteenth, 1581." This interesting letter is followed by a more formal testimonial in favour of the young and accomplished emigrant. "Jerome Groslot, a young man of Orleans who is the bearer of this, although born in a distinguished city of most distinguished parents, is however best known in consequence of his calamities. In that universal tumult, and universal phrensy, which prevailed in France, he lost his father and his patrimony, and was himself exposed to jeo-

pardy. As he could not remain at home in safety, he chose to fix his residence in Scotland till the violence of that storm should a little subside. As the state of national affairs is now somewhat more tranquil, and his domestic concerns require his return, he is determined to travel through England, that, like Ulysses, he may become acquainted with the manners and cities of many nations, and, as far as the shortness of his time will permit, may familiarize himself with a branch of civil knowledge which is of no trivial importance. This journey I trust he will not perform without reaping some benefit; such as he has derived from his late peregrination. During his residence in Scotland, he has not lived like a stranger in a foreign land, but like a citizen among his fellows. The study of letters he has prosecuted so successfully, as not only to be able to sooth by their suavity the sorrows incident to his disastrous condition, but also to have provided for himself and his family a resource against the future contingencies of life. Here it is not necessary for me to persuade, or even to admonish you, to treat this excellent youth with kindness: for that the uniform course of your life, and the bond of the same faith, demand of you; nay, even compel you to do, for the sake of maintaining your own character."[m] This young stranger, in whom he seems to have been so

[m] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 33.

much interested, was the son of Jerome Groslot, *bailli* of Orleans; who was assassinated at Paris during the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew.[n] The father likewise appears to have been attached to letters.[o] The son, though he did not himself publish any work, was well known to the scholars of the age: he was one of the intimate friends of Dousa, and enjoyed the acquaintance of Cujacius, Casaubon, and Lipsius.[p]

The last production which Buchanan lived to complete was his history of Scotland.[q] In the

[n] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii, p. 42, 44, tom. iii, p. 132.

[o] Saxius supposes him to be the author of two juridical tracts, written in Latin, and published at Paris in 1538. (*Onomasticon Literarium*, tom. iii, p. 193, 554.) These tracts occur in Otto's *Thesaurus Juris Civilis*, tom. v, p. 1, 48.

[p] Colomiés mentions a volume of Latin and Italian letters from Father Paul to M. de l'Isle Groslot and M. Gillot, printed at Geneva in the year 1673. Several philological epistles of Groslot may be found in the collections of Goldastus and Burman. In the latter collection occur his annotations on Tacitus. (Burmanni *Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. i, p. 348.) He is the author of a decastich inserted in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*, tom. i, p. 955. Casaubon styles him "nobilissimus doctissimusque vir." (*Animadversiones ad Suetonium*, p. 2.) He may be supposed to have recovered his patrimony: he denominates himself Hieronymus Groslotius *Lislæus*, and some of his letters are dated at l'Isle, evidently his country-seat. Burman has mistaken the import of the word Lislæus: "Fortasse originem maternam ex Scotis, apud quos gens Lislæa vel Leslæa celeberrima, repetebat."

[q] Rerum Scoticarum Historia, auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto. Edimburgi, apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum typographum regium. Cum privilegio regali. 1582, fol.—Thisedition contains many typographical errors; a list of which may be found appended to Thomas Crawford's *Notes on Buchanan*. Of the history of Scotland there are seventeen editions. The two last are those of Alexander Finlater

year 1582, it issued from the office of Alexander

and James Man. Edinb. 1727, 8vo. Aberd. 1762, 8vo. Finlater is mentioned by Ruddiman as "a gentleman well versed in classical learning." (*Further Vindication*, p. 7.) Archbishop Nicolson remarks that Buchanan's history was "epitomized in a good Latin style by Mr. Alexander Hume; who was sometime chief master of the grammar school at Edinburgh." (*Scottish Historical Library*, p. 43.) This epitome was never printed. The history was translated into the Scotish language by John Reid, or Read; who, according to Calderwood's MS. was "servitur and writer to Master George Buchanan." In the library of the university of Glasgow, I have inspected a MS. of this unpublished version, which bears the following inscription. "The Historie of Scotland, first written in the Latine tungue by that famous and learned man George Buchanan, and afterward translated into the Scottishe tungue by John Read, Esquyar, brother to James Read, person of Banchory Ternan whyle he liued. They both ly interred in the parishe church of that towne, seated not farre from the banke of the riuer of Dee, expecting the general resurrection, and the glorious appeering of Jesus Christ there redimer." This transcript appears from the colophon to have been completed on the twelfth of December 1634. Another unpublished version belongs to the British Museum: "An History of the State of Scotland, by George Buchquhanane a Scotchman." (*Bib. Har.* N°. 7539.) This MS. is imperfect; it commences with the twelfth, and ends in the nineteenth book. The idiom is English, and the hand apparently of the seventeenth century. An English translation of Buchanan's history and dialogue was printing in London about the æra of the restoration: but on the seventh of June 1660, the publication was prohibited by an order of council. (Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 350.) This prohibition of the dialogue, as my learned friend Mr. Little suggests, is mentioned with some degree of triumph by the apostate Bishop Parker. (*De Rebus sui Temporis Commentarii*, p. 77. Lond. 1726, 8vo.) In 1690, an English translation of Buchanan's history was published at London in folio. Prefixed is a very good portrait of the author, engraved by R. White from an original painting in the possession of Sir Thomas Povey. In 1722, the same version was reprinted at London in two volumes octavo. This edition professes to be "revised and corrected from the Latin original, by Mr. Bond:" but it is remarked by Ruddiman that although the first abounds with errors, yet he has not made the least alteration. (*Answer to Logan*, p. 315.) Of this translation there are other five editions, each consisting of two volumes octavo. Lond. 1733. Edinb. 1751-2. Edinb. 1762. Edinb. 1766. Glasg.

Arbuthnot, printer to the king.[b] It bears the royal privilege, and, like other works of the same author, is dedicated to the young monarch. The dedication is not unworthy of our attention. "When after a peregrination of twenty-four years,[c] I had at length returned to my native country, the first object of my care was to collect my papers, dispersed by the malignity of former times, and in many respects exposed to improper treatment. For partly through the undue partiality of my friends, who precipitated their publication at a premature crisis, partly through the immoderate licence which printers, assuming the character of censors, exercise with respect to other men's works, I find many passages changed, chiefly according to their respective fancies, and some vilely corrupted.

"While I was attempting to remedy those inconveniences, the sudden entreaties of my friends disordered all my plans. For all of them, as if they had conspired with each other, exhorted me

1799. An English version of several books of Buchanan's history was published as an original work, under the title of "An Impartial Account of the Affairs of Scotland, from the death of King James V. to the tragical Exit of the Earl of Murray: by an eminent hand." Lond. 1705, 8vo.

b See the Lives of the Scotish Poets, vol. ii, p. 175.

c "Post viginti *quatuor* annorum peregrinationem." This reading must be erroneous. Buchanan left his native country in 1539; and he was at the Scotish court in the month of January 1562. Mr. Love is inclined to suppose that he returned with the prior of St. Andrews in May 1561. (*Vindication of Buchanan*, p. 61.)

to relinquish those performances of a more trivial nature, which rather sooth the ear than inform the mind, and to occupy myself in writing the history of our nation. This occupation, they urged, was worthy of my age, and of the expectations concerning me which my countrymen had formed; and no other subject presented stronger incentives of praise, or promised to confer a more lasting reputation. To omit other considerations, as Britain is the most renowned island in the world, and its history involves transactions highly memorable in every respect, you will hardly discover in the course of ages an individual who has ventured to undertake so important a subject, and has evinced himself equal to the undertaking.

"It was likewise no slight incentive to me, that I concluded my labour would neither be undue nor unacceptable to you. For it appeared absurd and shameful that you, who at this early age have perused the histories of almost every nation, and have committed many of them to memory, should seem to be a stranger at home. Besides as the incurable state of my health will not permit me to discharge the office intrusted to me of cultivating your genius,[d] I have deemed it my next duty to betake myself to that species of composition which is calculated for improving the mind.

[d] "Partes ingenii tui *excolendas*." This passage is evidently inaccurate. The genuine reading, *excolendi*, is given in the edition of Finlater.

With the view of extenuating as far as lies in my power this fault of cessation, I have therefore determined to send you faithful monitors drawn from history, that you may adopt their counsel in your deliberations, and imitate their virtue in your actions. For there are among your ancestors men distinguished by every species of excellence, and of whom their posterity will never be ashamed. To omit other instances, the records of human affairs will not supply you with a character whom you can compare to our king David. If to him divine benignity has vouchsafed this preëminence, not only in most miserable, but even in most flagitious times, we may reasonably hope that you) as the royal prophet has expressed himself)[e] may likewise become to mothers the standard of their request whenever they pray for the prosperity of their offspring; that

e "Ut ait *vates regius*." The purity of this phrase, as it is here applied, has been called in question; and perhaps with sufficient reason. (Ruddiman's *Anticrisis*, p. 77.) *Vates regius* seems rather to denote a king's prophet, than a person who was at once a prophet and a king. To this very pure and correct writer, a few other improprieties have been imputed, but most of them without any competent foundation. Charges of solecism are more easily advanced than refuted; and many writers have advanced them with great temerity. Dr. Johnson, for example, objects to Dryden's using a word of most unquestionable authority. "The *Threnodia*, which, by a term I am afraid neither authorized nor analogical, he calls *Augustalis*." (*Lives of English Poets*, vol. ii, p. 153.) The word *Augustalis* is used by Columella, Suetonius, Tacitus, and other ancient authors: it is sufficiently familiar to the ears of a civilian, for it repeatedly occurs in the Theodosian Code, and in the Code and Pandects of Justinian. "De Officio Præfecti *Augustalis*," is one of the rubrics in each of the two last collections.

this commonwealth, now hastening to universal destruction and ruin, may even be stayed in its career, till it at length approach those times when human affairs having fulfilled the decree fixed from eternity, are to reach their destined close."

Between the original formation of his plan, and the publication of the history itself, nearly twenty years must have elapsed: but it is to be supposed that he long revolved the subject in his mind, and had proceeded to amass the greater part of his materials, before he applied himself to its composition; and during that interval, his attention had been distracted by various pursuits, political as well as literary. His progress seems also to have been interrupted by another accident which cannot easily be defined.[f] Notwithstanding the manifest disadvantages of divided attention, of infirm health, and of a languid old age, he has produced one of the most eloquent and masterly performances that has ever been submitted to the inspection of the learned world. Wicquefort prefers it without hesitation to the Roman history

[f] The following passage occurs in a letter from Sir Robert Bowes to Lord Burleigh, dated at Stirling on the eighteenth of September 1578. "Buchanan hath ended his story wrytten to the death of the Erle of Murrey. He proposith to commend it to print shortly; *but one thing of late hath been withdrawen from him*, which he trusteth to recover, or else to supply of new with soer travell. He accepteth your lordships commendations with great comfort, and returneth to your lordship his humble duty and thanks." (Murdin's *Collection of State Papers*, p. 316. Lond. 1759, fol.)

of Livy.[g] It is very justly remarked by the excellent Thuanus, that although much of Buchanan's time had been spent in scholastic occupations, yet his history might be supposed the production of a man whose whole life had been exercised in the political transactions of the state; the felicity of his genius, and the greatness of his mind, having enabled him so completely to remove every impediment incident to an obscure and humble lot.[h]

Buchanan has divided his history into twenty books. The first three ought rather to have been exhibited in the form of an introductory dissertation; for the historical narrative properly commences with the fourth book. His preliminary enquiries are directed to the geographical situation, the nature of the soil and climate, the ancient names and manners, and the primitive inhabitants of the British islands. The third book consists of a digest of apposite quotations from the Greek and Latin authors. The whole how-

[g] Wicquefort, Memoires touchant les Ambassadeurs et les Ministres Publics, p. 442. Haye, 1677, 8vo.

[h] "In senili otio patriam historiam aggressus est; quam tanta puritate, prudentia, et acumine scripsit, quamvis interdum libertate genti innata, contra regium fastigium acerbior, ut ea scriptio non hominem in pulvere literario versatum, sed in media hominum luce et in tractandis reipublicæ negotiis tota vita exercitatum redoleat: adeo ingenii felicitas et animi magnitudo omnia obscuræ et humilis fortunæ impedimenta ab eo removerant, ut propterea non minus recte de maximis rebus judicare et scribere prudenter posset."

THUANI Hist. sui Temporis, tom. iv, p. 99.

ever of this introductory part displays his usual erudition and sagacity; and, in the opinion of Archbishop Usher, no writer had investigated the antiquities of his country with superior diligence.[i] In these curious disquisitions, he evinces his knowledge of the Celtic as well as of the classical tongues: during that age, Gaëlic was perhaps the language of Lennox, his native province.[k] He has manifested an unnecessary degree of solicitude and warmth in exposing some of the antiquarian reveries of Humphrey Lhuyd, a Cambro-Briton who published an historical fragment in the year 1572.[l] This was only ten years before

i Usserii Britannic. Eccles. Antiq. p. 733. Dublin. 1639, 4to.

k "And this," says Mr. Man, "puts me in mind of an arch and humorous passage of his behaviour, which I found in some MS. excerpts taken by Mr. Thomas Melvil, who was minister of Alford in the last century. Buchanan being once on a time in France, and meeting with a possessed woman that spoke all languages, he having been born in Lennox, where he learned the Irish, made trial whether the devil had that language, and he answered nothing: whereupon he *took instrument* [entered a protest] that the devil knew it not, nor consequently that people in the Highlands." (*Censure of Ruddiman*, p. 329.)

l Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum, auctore Humfredo Lhuyd, Denbyghiense, Cambro-Britanno. Hujus auctoris diligentiam et judicium lector admirabitur. Col. Agrip. 1572, 8vo. Mr. Herbert mentions an earlier edition; but I do not suppose that it ever existed. This fragment is dedicated to Abraham Ortelius, who in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* has inserted Lhuyd's *Epistola de Mona Druidum Insula*. A correct edition of these two tracts of Lhuyd was published by his countryman Moses Williams, A. M. Lond. 1731, 4to. A translation of the fragment had formerly appeared under the title of "The Breuiary of Britagne, &c. by Thomas Twyne, Gentleman." Lond. 1573, 8vo. A third production of the same author is entitled *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales*. Lond. 1584, 4to. This work was augmented, and published after

the appearance of Buchanan's work: but the three books which are first in the present arrangement do not seem to have been first composed;[m] and it is only in those books that he refers to Lhuyd's production.

In the earlier part of his narration, he has reposed too much confidence on his predecessor Hector Boyce. Many of the fables of that romantic writer he has indeed rejected; but he was not sufficiently aware of the extreme hazard of relying on such an authority. Boyce, whose history of Scotland was printed at Paris in the year 1526, had not yet begun to be generally regarded as a notable impostor. Buchanan has appealed to several other Scotish historians; and he unquestionably had access to historical documents which are no longer extant. He has occasionally availed himself of the collateral aid of the English and French writers.[n] His sketch

his death, by David Powell, D. D. "It pleased God," says Powell, "to take him awaie in the floure of his time." He had been educated at Oxford, and his profession was that of physic. "Afterwards retiring to his own country, lived mostly within the walls of Denbigh castle, practised his faculty, and sometimes that of musick for diversion sake, being then esteemed a well bred gentleman. He was a passing right antiquary, and a person of great skill and knowledge in British affairs." (Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i, col. 129.) Mr. Barrington, a more competent judge, acknowledges that Lhuyd "is generally very accurate in what relates to the history of Wales, or its antiquities." (*Observations on the Statutes*, p. 323.) But many of his notions are sufficiently absurd. Of his antiquarian theories, Languet did not entertain a more favourable opinion than Buchanan. (Langueti *Epistolæ ad Sydneium*, p. 29, 41.)

[m] Ruddiman, Anticrisis, p. 6, Answer to Logan, p. 80.

[n] In his history, Buchanan refers to Fordun, Winton, Mair, Boyce,

of the earlier reigns is brief and rapid; nor has he attempted to establish any chronological notation till he descends to the four hundred and fourth year of the Christian æra. It must indeed be acknowledged that he has repeated the fabulous line of our ancient kings; but that continued till a much later period to be regarded as an article of national faith: the erudition and judgment of Lloyd and Stillingfleet, of Innes and Pinkerton, had not then been applied to the intricate investigation. Like most of the classical historians, Buchanan is too remiss in marking the chronology of each event which he records. His narrative, from the reign of the great King Robert, becomes much more copious and interesting; but the history of his own times, which were undoubtedly pregnant with remarkable events, occupies far the largest proportion of his twenty books. In some of the transactions which he relates, his own affections and passions were deeply concerned, and might not unreasonably be expected to impart some tincture to his style. "His bitterness in writing of the queen," says Archbishop Spotswood, "and troubles of the time, all wise men have disliked. But otherwise no man did merit better of his nation for learning, nor thereby did bring to it more glory."[9] This is the remark of a candid and en-

Matthew Paris, William of Newbury, Thomas Walsingham, Polydore Virgil, Caxton, Hall, Grafton, Froissart, and Monstrellet.

[9] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 325.

lightened man who enjoyed the particular favour of the queen's son and grandson: he has not however hazarded the slightest insinuation of Buchanan's having asserted what he did not himself believe. It was manifestly the interest as well as the inclination of this prelate, to exhibit the character of Mary in the most favourable point of view; and yet his love of truth, and the force of cotemporary evidence, have compelled him to sanction the general tenor of his predecessor's narrative. His indignation against that deluded princess Buchanan shared with a very large proportion of his fellow subjects; and many of her actions were such as could not fail of exciting the antipathy of every well-regulated mind.[p] The storm has now subsided, and we may calmly blend her virtues with her vices; but her subjects found it absolutely necessary to oppose her mad career, and afterwards to vindicate their own conduct by exposing hers. It were certainly to be wished that Buchanan had expressed himself in more moderate terms; though his unbounded indignation is evidently that of an honest mind, unable to disguise its genuine sentiments. That some of the circumstances which he relates are not altogether consistent with accuracy, is only what may be affirmed with re-

[p] Thuanus to Camden. "Acerbius hæc fortasse a Buchanano scripta, et audio discipulum præceptori ob id succensere; et tamen quia gesta sunt, citra flagitium dissimulari non possunt." (Camdeni *Epistolæ*, p. 68. Lond. 1691, 4to.)

spect to any other historian. He was not himself an eye-witness of every transaction of his own age; and amidst the animosities of that outrageous period, he must chiefly have derived his information from the adherents of one party. That Bishop Lesley has exhibited a more faithful detail of the singular events of that crisis, is an assertion which has indeed been hazarded, but which it would be extremely easy to refute. Lesley's history was published in the year 1578: his Latinity is elegant, and he has generally evinced more candour than could have been expected from a writer placed in such circumstances; but Lesley was a Papist; he was one of the queen's chief agents; he had been deprived of a bishopric; and his work was printed at Rome. The veracity of Buchanan with respect to the most controverted facts recorded in his history, has been confirmed by a very recent examination of original documents: some of the darkest transactions of that period have been placed in a clear and steady light by the able disquisitions of Mr. Laing; to whom Buchanan has many obligations.

The style of his history betrays no symptoms of the author's old age and infirmities: it is not merely distinguished by its correctness and elegance, it breathes all the fervent animation of youthful genius. The noble ideas which so frequently rise in his mind, he always expresses in

language of correspondent dignity. His narrative is extremely perspicuous, variegated, and interesting: it is seldom deficient, and never redundant. Notwithstanding his long habits of poetical composition, he has carefully refrained from interspersing this work with phraseologies unsuitable to the diction of prose; and in the whole course of his narrative, he has only introduced a single quotation from a poet.[q] His moral and political reflexions are profound and masterly. It is with the utmost propriety that he has been characterized as a man of exquisite judgment.[r] Of the inherent and unalienable rights of mankind, he has never lost sight for a single moment; and he uniformly delivers his sentiments with a noble freedom and energy.[s] His zeal in branding vice is only equalled by his zeal in commending virtue. The martial exploits of his valiant countrymen he has often recited with all the enthusiasm of a young warrior.

To some of his principal characters he has as-

[q] Buchanan. Rerum. Scotic. Hist. p. 175.

[r] Conringius de Antiquitatibus Academicis, p. 74.

[s] "It has been reproached to this cultivated scholar," says Dr. Stuart, "that he gives his sentiments with too much liberty. I am surprized that so many critics have concurred in this censure. Is there a quality in an author so honourable, so useful, as that of expressing what he thinks? Is it proper that science and learning should be put in prison, and dishonoured by confinement and fetters? Miserable is that nation where literature is under any form but that of a republic." (*Observations concerning the Public Law, and the Constitutional History of Scotland*, p. 276. Edinb. 1779, 8vo.)

signed formal speeches. This was the general practice of the ancient historians, and has likewise been adopted by several of the moderns: it is however a practice which has at length been exploded; and whatever it may contribute to diversity or interest, it may safely be stigmatized as unsuitable in a composition which professes to record events and circumstances as they actually occurred.[t] Buchanan's orators are uncommonly eloquent. The most admired of his harangues is that which he imputes to Archbishop Kennedy after the death of James the second:[u] its principal position is, that the sovereign power ought not to be intrusted to the hands of a woman; a position which had been maintained with equal strenuousness by John Knox. Some of the speeches which he ascribes to cotemporary characters, are such as may be supposed to have been really delivered; for the author must have been present on the occasions to which they are referred. But it is one of the inconveniences attending factitious harangues, that their introduction renders it

[t] "I hold," says Lord Monboddo, "that in every history well composed, there ought to be *speeches*, without which, I think, a history hardly deserves that name, but should be called a *chronicle* or *annals*." (*Origin and Progress of Language*, vol. v, p. 280.) That is to say, a history ought not to be called a history unless it assume the appearance of a romance. Dr. Lawson has paid more respect to common sense. "I grant that modern historians have erred herein by injudicious imitation, not considering the difference of times; for set speeches would be absurd now, on occasions wherein they would have been necessary at Athens or Rome." (*Lectures concerning Oratory*, p. 216, edit. Dublin, 1760, 8vo.)

[u] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 221.

impossible to distinguish those which are genuine.

Buchanan may be compared to the ancient historians in another respect: with regard to prodigies, he has betrayed some degree of credulity. But this was a defect incident to the age, rather than the individual; nor must it be forgotten that he records some of those preternatural circumstances without professing to consider them as entitled to credit. The national rumour concerning them appears to have been strong; and he might deem it incumbent upon him to submit them to the discussion of his readers. During the age of Buchanan, even the most intelligent were credulous; and many of the opinions revered by the present age, which is so frequently charged with scepticism, may possibly excite the pity or derision of the more enlightened ages which are yet to come. The intellectual slumber of a thousand years had recently been shaken off: but so prodigiously slow is the progress of good sense, which is nothing else but vigorous reason improved by experience, that even now it can only be considered as proceeding towards a very distant maturity. Every age is however disposed to rest satisfied with its own attainments; and this is at once the effect and the cause of ignorance.

What particular historian among the ancients he had selected as his model, is a question which

some learned men have not been able to determine. Rapin the Jesuit represents him as a servile imitator of Livy ;[x] but this servile imitation is very far from being evident to more candid and intelligent arbiters. It was an opinion of the celebrated Andrew Fletcher that his diction bears a nearer resemblance to that of Cæsar.[y] Buchanan, says Le Clerc, has united the brevity of Sallust with the elegance and terseness of Livy; for, those are the two authors whom he proposed chiefly to imitate; as they who have perused them with attention, will easily recognize when they come to read the Scotish historian.[z] These various assertions are manifestly irreconcilable with each other; nor do they serve to evince that Buchanan has selected any particular model, but rather that he has singly rivalled the characteristic excellencies of several historians of the greatest name. The style of his history is not a borrowed style: he had formed his diction by a long familiarity with the best writers of antiquity; and his manly and delicate taste enabled him to exhibit an admirable model of his own. It is not his chief praise that he writes like a diligent imitator of the ancients, but that he writes as if he himself were one of the ancients.

[x] Rapin, Reflexions sur l'Histoire, p. 252.

[y] Ruddimanni præf. in Buchananum, p. x.

[z] Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. viii, p. 174.

The motives which impel men to arduous undertakings, are generally scrutinized with perhaps too much nicety. In his dedication, Buchanan has sufficiently revealed the motives which induced him to write the history of his native country: but some of his enemies persuade themselves that they have discovered another powerful motive, which he has excluded from his enumeration. The earl of Murray, they imagine, had formed a secret plan of usurping the crown; and the sole or at least the principal object of that history was, to prepare the nation for receiving him as their legitimate monarch. That Murray ever entertained such a project, is to be regarded as a mere fiction;[a] nor must it be forgotten that he died twelve years before the history was published. If such therefore was the ambition of the one, and the obsequiousness of the other, they might certainly have embraced a more direct method of accomplishing their purpose. Buchanan is accused of having frequently employed, in his account of

[a] "Nam demus," says the impartial Thuanus, "quod ab diversa tradentibus jactatur, Moravium ambitione ardentem scelerate regnum appetiisse: quod tamen constanter negant omnes fide digni Scoti, quoscunque mihi alloqui contigit; etiam ii quibus alioqui Moravius ob religionis causam summe invisus erat; nam virum fuisse aiebant extra religionis causam ab omni ambitione, avaritia, et in quenquam injuria alienum; virtute, comitate, beneficentia, vitæque innocentia præstantem; et qui nisi fuisset, eos qui tantopere mortuum exagitant, hodie minime rerum potituros fuisse." (Camdeni *Epistolæ*, p. 73.) Thuanus, it will be recollected, was himself a Catholic.

the regal succession, such terms as insinuate popular election, rather than hereditary right; with the oblique view of reminding the nation of its inherent power to elevate the good regent to the permanent dignity of a king. But, unfortunately for this hypothesis, the very same phrases had been adopted by his predecessor Boyce, and even by Lesley, the faithful adherent of the exiled queen. This conduct is in Lesley ascribed to accident, but in Buchanan to treasonable intentions:[b] and it is according to the same variable standard, that the actions of the latter have generally been estimated by his malignant censors. The reason of such phrases being adopted by those authors is simple and obvious. Although they had undertaken to unfold the progress of a hereditary monarchy, yet they had formed their style by a long and careful perusal of the historians of an ancient republic. To the succession of the Scotish kings they applied the phrases by which Livy had described the succession of the Roman consuls. This practice of accommodating classical terms to modern subjects which they only explain by a faint analogy, is notorious to every man of learning; and by some historians, particularly by Bembus, it has been carried to a ridiculous excess.

b "The other (Lesly) *inconsiderately*, and contrary to his own principle, following his leader Boece, sometimes *stumbles on that phrase*." (Ruddiman's *Answer to Logan*, p. 71.)

As Buchanan is supposed to have commenced his great undertaking from motives of treason, so he is charitably represented as having terminated it from motives of revenge. "His history," it has been remarked, "comes no farther than the end of the year 1572, in which the earl of Lenox was slain; and though he lived ten years after, yet, because he hated (as Sir James Melvil informs us) the earl of Morton, he would not continue the history through his regency."[c] To some men, the motives of the living and of the dead are wonderfully transparent. To dislike the earl of Morton was certainly no crime; for, according to Melvil's own account, he was haughty, avaricious, and cruel. Buchanan however has frequently mentioned him in his history, without any invidious insinuations; and this circumstance, if he actually hated him, must at least be regarded as a strong proof of his magnanimity.[d] But it was not sufficient to remark

[c] Ruddiman's Answer to Logan, p. 80.

[d] "He was also religious," says Sir James Melvil, "but was easily abused, and so facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him: for he was become careless, following in many things the vulgar opinion: for he was naturally popular, and extreamly revengeful against any man who had offended him, which was his greatest fault. For he did write despightful invectives against the earl of Monteeth, for some particulars that were between him and the laird of Buchuanan. He became the earl of Mortoun's great enemy for that a nagg of his chanced to be taken from his servant during the civil troubles, and was bought by the regent, who had no will to part with the said horse, he was so 'sure' footed and so easie, that albeit Mr.

that he survived the earl of Lennox ten years; it ought likewise to have been ascertained. whether he desisted from his task ten years before his own decease.[e] Human actions were never estimated in a more perverse manner; for the completion of his history, and the termination of his life, arrived about the very same crisis.

In the month of September, some of his learned friends, namely Andrew Melvin, James Melvin, and his own cousin Thomas Buchanan, provost of the collegiate church of Kirkhaugh, hav-

George had oft-times required him again, he could not get him. And therefore, though he had been the regent's great friend before, he became his mortal enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil of him in all places, and at all occasions." (*Memoires*, p. 125.) Here Melvil must have written "as those who were about him informed him;" nor must it be forgotten that his politics were in direct opposition to those of Buchanan. The best refutation of these assertions is that Buchanan's history, which was published after the earl's execution, contains not a single insinuation to his prejudice: on the contrary, he is repeatedly mentioned in very respectful terms; for it was not till after he became regent, that his conduct was so obnoxious.

Nisbet's story of Buchanan's enmity towards William Earl Marischal is of a similar complexion "Buchanan being by the earl refused the purchase of a piece of land, said to have of old belonged to some of his relations, as is vulgarly reported in the family, threatened revenge, which he seems to have performed by his profound silence through all his history of this noble family, and their heroic actions." (*System of Heraldry*, vol. ii, app. p. 7.) In his history, Buchanan has frequently mentioned the noble family of Keith.

[e] "Accessit eo historiæ scribendæ labor," said Buchanan on the ninth of November 1579, "in ætate integra permolestus, nunc vero in hac meditatione mortis, inter mortalitatis metum, et desinendi pudorem, non potest non lentus esse et ingratus, quando nec cessare licet, nec progredi lubet." (*Epistolæ*, p. 25.) He was then in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

ing heard that the work was in the press and the author indisposed, hastened to Edinburgh to pay him a final visit. James, who was the nephew of Andrew Melvin, and professor of divinity at St. Andrews, has in simple terms recorded the principal circumstances which occurred during their interview. Upon entering his apartment, they found the greatest genius of the age[f] employed in the humble though benevolent task of teaching the horn-book to a young man in his service. After the usual salutations, "I perceive, Sir," said Andrew Melvin, "you are not idle." "Better this," replied Buchanan, "than stealing sheep, or sitting idle, which is as bad." He afterwards shewed them his dedication to the young king; and Melvin having perused it, remarked that it seemed in some passages obscure, and required certain words to complete the sense. "I can do nothing more," said Buchanan, "for thinking of another matter." "What is that?" rejoined Melvin.—"To die. But I leave that, and many other things to your care." Melvin likewise alluded to the publication of Blackwood's answer to his treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. These visitors afterwards proceeded to Arbuthnot's printing-office, to inspect a work which had excited such high expectation. They

[f] Salmasius has characterized Buchanan as "summum ætatis suæ virum." (*Epistola ad Menagium*, p. 54.) Heinsius, who differed so widely from Salmasius on other subjects, denominates him "virum suo sæculo majorem." (Burmanni *Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. ii, p. 451.)

found the impression had proceeded as far as the passage relative to the interment of David Rizzio; and being alarmed at the unguarded boldness with which the historian had there expressed himself, they requested the printer to desist. Having returned to Buchanan's house, they found him in bed. In answer to their friendly enquiries, he informed them that he was "even going the way of welfare." His kinsman then proceeded to state their apprehensions respecting the consequence of publishing so unpalatable a story; and to suggest the probability of its inducing the king to prohibit the entire work. "Tell me, man," said Buchanan, "if I have told the truth." "Yes Sir," replied his cousin, "I think so." "Then," rejoined the dying historian, "I will abide his feud, and all his kin's. Pray to God for me, and let him direct all." And so, subjoins the original narrative, "by the printing of his chronicle was ended, that most learned, wise, and godly man ended this mortal life."[g]

Such is the substance, and nearly the form, of James Melvin's relation; which is sufficiently probable in itself, and is sanctioned by the au-

[g] Man's Censure of Ruddiman, p. 53. Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 137.—It is to be regretted that the entire work of James Melvin, his memoirs of his own life, has not yet been printed. Another curious relique, the life of Sir Robert Sibbald, was in the possession of the late Mr. Boswell; who considered it as "the most natural and candid account of himself that ever was given by any man." (*Life of Johnson*, vol. iii, p. 246.) David Buchanan's catalogue of Scotish writers, though composed in Latin, might be associated in the same volume with these two productions.

thority of a clergyman and professor of theology. It furnishes a complete refutation of a ridiculous tale told by Camden, that, upon the approach of death, Buchanan testified the utmost compunction for having wielded his pen against Queen Mary.[h] This tale could indeed have been explod-

[h] Camdeni Annales, vol. i, p. 130, edit. Hearnii.—The story of Buchanan's repentance is repeated by Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, dec. ii, lib. viii, p. 481, and by Dr. Robert Johnston, *Rerum Britannicarum Historia*, p. 81. Amst. 1655, fol. Strada, with more than Jesuitical impudence, asserts that he was "partim spe inductus a Moravio, si hic regnum potiretur, se in Scotiæ patriarcham assumendum;" that he hoped to be rewarded with the archbishopric of St. Andrews. To the vague report of Camden, Mr. Sage added an old woman's tale which sufficiently confutes itself. His letter is appended to Bishop Gillan's *Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Sage*, p. 70. Lond. 1714, 8vo. See also Hearne's preface to Camden, p. cv, Love's *Vindication of Buchanan*, p. 18, and Laing's *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 139.

Thuanus has related an anecdote which must not here be entirely overlooked. "Cum autem morti proximus esset Buchananus, a rege alumno rogatus, ut quæ de Maria parente nimis libere scripserat revocaret, et infamiam ejus nomini scriptis suis inustam insigni aliquo testimonio elueret, nihil aliud respondit, quam brevi fore ut ipsius desiderio abunde satisfieret. Repetitis dein vicibus per fidos eadem de re interpellatus, hoc postremo responso regi satisfecit: se, quæ ex animi sententia vere scripserat, revocare quidem non posse; ceterum, ubi exspiraverit, in regis potestate futurum, ut de scriptis illius pro arbitrio suo statueret: tantum quid in ea re acturus esset, pro prudentia sua, ante mature consuleret; sciretque reges cum soluta potestate a Deo constitutos nihil non posse; sed veritatem, quæ a Deo vires sumit, quantum Deus hominibus major est, tantum potentia adversus reges ipsos præpollere." (*Hist. sui Temporis*, tom. iv, p. 100. Var. Lect.) It is no refutation of Thuanus, to urge that more than a month previous to Buchanan's death, the king had been seized by the earl of Gowrie and his accomplices. He was seized on the twenty-third of August; and it may certainly be affirmed that before that period Buchanan was *morti proximus*. Nor is it difficult to suppose that even after his forcible detention, the king might intrust repeated messages to some of his faithful adherents.

ed without the aid of such a document; for the dedication of his history, in which he certainly retracts none of his former opinions, is dated only thirty days prior to his decease. Camden was undoubtedly a man of virtue; and although his Latinity is somewhat barbarous, he was possessed of no contemptible share of learning. But he wrote under the immediate control of King James; who was extremely anxious to prejudice his mind against the character of an historian, who had treated that of his royal mother with so little ceremony. Casaubon and he were employed by his majesty in transmitting various counterstatements to Thuanus; but this impartial foreigner preferred the authority of Buchanan to that of the learned monarch.[i] Thuanus was one of the most valuable characters whom the world has yet beheld. His testimony in favour of the Scotish historian was uniform; nor ought it to be overlooked by those who prefer truth to sophistry. If Buchanan had asserted what he knew to be false, it would be charitable to suppose his

i A curious collection of papers, "De Thuani Historiæ Successu apud Jacobum I. Magnæ Britanniæ Regem," may be found in Buckley's noble edition of the works of Thuanus, tom. vii.—"Rem," says Thuanus to Camden, "ut ex Scotorum qui interfuerant sermonibus didici, ita literis mandavi; et ad eorum fidem scripta a Buchanano expendi. De cætero, nigrum in candidum in cujusquam gratiam convertere, neque animus ab initio fuit, neque nunc esse debuit." (Camdeni *Epistolæ*, p. 74.) From this passage, as well as from various others which might be produced, it evidently appears that the illustrious historian had duly appretiated the communications of Casaubon and Camden.

subsequent repentance; but the simple and authentic narrative of Melvin leaves no room for suppositions.

Buchanan expired a short while after five o'clock, on the morning of Friday the twenty-eighth of September 1582.[k] He was then in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the Grey-friars;[l] and his ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone.[m] After an interval of some years, his tomb

[k] "Obiit Edinburgi, paulo post horam quintam matutinam, die Veneris 28 Septembris." "Die Veneris" Mr. Chalmers has with his wonted felicity translated, on Saturday. The same writer affirms that he died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He died at the age of seventy-six years and nearly eight months.

[l] "I was told," says Dr. Mackenzie, "by the Right Honourable the Earl of Cromarty, who died in the 83 year of his age, who had it from his grandfather the Lord Invertyle, one of Mr. Buchanan's scholars, being brought up with the young prince King James the VI. that when Buchanan was dying, he called for Mr. Young his servant, and asked him how much money he had of his, and finding that it was not sufficient for defraying the charges of his burial, he commanded him to distribute it amongst the poor. Upon which Mr. Young asking, who then would be at the charges of burying him? he answered that he was very indifferent about that, for if he was once dead, if they would not bury him, they might let him lye where he was, or throw his corps where they pleased. And that accordingly the city of Edinburgh was obliged to bury him upon their own expences." (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii, p. 172.) The two anecdotes introduced above, p. 169, Dr. Mackenzie has stated on the same authority: but the vile use which he makes of printed books, renders his credit extremely dubious.

[m] The author of the "*New* Anecdotes" has bestowed heavy castigation on Mr. Thomson Callender for asserting that Buchanan's grave was never distinguished by a tomb-stone. (*Miscellanies*, p. 252.) "Yet," he remarks, "is this positive assertion, of confident ignorance, contra-

was opened; and his skull, or at least a skull supposed to be his, was, by the intervention of Principal Adamson, deposited in the library of

dicted by the following record: 'At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1701; the same day the council being informed, that the through stone [tomb-stone] of the deceast George Buchanan lyes sunk under the ground of the Grey-friars: therefore, they appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and clear the inscription thereupon; so as the same may be legible.' The inscription, which was thus restored to the eye of the passenger, by the piety of Edinburgh, was written by John Adamsone. From these facts, we may learn, what an easy task it is to write memoirs, without research; to praise, without knowledge; and to censure, without proof." (Chalmers, p. 349.) The record certainly proves that the town-council had been assured of the existence of such a stone; but, like other councils, it may often have been assured of what is absolutely false. The supposed tomb-stone, being sunk under ground, was confessedly invisible. Adamson's epigram, which is not of the monumental kind, most unfortunately evinces that Buchanan's tomb was totally undecorated by the art of the sculptor.

Marmoreæ cur stant hic omni ex parte columnæ,
Signaque ab artificum dædala facta manu?
Ut spectent oculis monumenta insignia vivi,
Per quæ defunctis concilietur honos.
Talia nonne etiam debet Buchananus habere,
Doctius aut melius quo nihil orbis habet?
Gloriolas vivus qui contemnebat inanes,
An cupiet divus se decorent lapides?
Illis fas pulchro nomen debere sepulchro,
Qui nil quo melius nobilitentur habent.
Per te olim tellus est nobilitata Britanna,
Et decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo.

For this epigram Mr. Chalmers refers to Sir Robert Sibbald's commentary, p. 61; where it is thus introduced: "Joannes Adamsonus de *cespitio Georgii Buchanani tumulo* in cœmeterio Edinensi, multorum aliorum marmoreis monumentis affabre exstructis septo et circundato, cecinit." This will serve as one specimen of Mr. Chalmers's scholarship; five hundred more might very easily be produced.

Ninian Paterson, who flourished at a later period than Adamson, has

the university of Edinburgh. It is so thin as to be transparent."

The death of this illustrious man was less commemorated by the surviving poets than might reasonably have been expected. Some poetical tributes were however produced on the occasion. Andrew Melvin, who had frequently celebrated him while alive, did not fail to discharge the last debt of lettered friendship.

Ergo silent magni Buchanani in funere Musæ?
Nec vatem Aonidum flet pia turba suum?
An secum Buchananus habet montem, unde Camœnæ
Devolvunt mœstis murmura trunca modis?
An secum Buchananus habet fontem, unde poetæ
Pieriis poti collachrymantur aquis?
Aonio frustra quæruntur vertice Musæ:
Castalio frustra e fonte petuntur aquæ.
Pro monte est cœlum, pro fonte est Christus: utrumque
Et Christum et cœlum nunc Buchananus habet.
Hausisti hinc sacros latices, divine poeta:
Fudisti hinc summo carmina digna Deo.
Hauriat hinc quisquis Buchanani in funere mœret,
Ut vatum fundat carmina digna deo.[o]

repeatedly upbraided the native country of Buchanan with neglecting to testify its gratitude by the erection of a funeral monument.

Quem mihi tu tumulum patria (O ingrata) negasti,
In terra inque polo famaque mensque dedit.
Arcta meis titulis tellus fuit, itur ad astra,
Spreta chelys superi jam decus una chori.
Qui parit egregium patriæ post sæcula nomen,
Huic datur æternum non potuisse mori.

PATERSONI Epigrammata, p. 66. Edinb. 1678, 8vo.

[n] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam Buchanani, p. 62.

[o] Melvini Musæ, p. 6. *Sine loco*, 1620, 4to.

Joseph Scaliger has also written his epitaph, and in terms of liberal and appropriate praise.

Postquam laude tua patriam, meritisque beasti,
Buchanane, tuis Solis utrumque latus,
Contemptis opibus, spretis popularibus auris,
Ventosæque fugax ambitionis, obis;
Præmia quina quater Pisææ functus olivæ,
Et linquens animi pignora rara tui:
In quibus haud tibi se anteferent quos Itala vates
Terra dedit: nec quos Gallia mater alit,
Æquabunt genium felicis carminis, et quæ
Orbis habet famæ conscia signa tuæ.
Namque ad supremum perducta poetica culmen
In te stat, nec quo progrediatur habet.
Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes:
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit.[p]

Buchanan had consecrated a monument of his own fame, composed of materials more permanent than brass or marble; but his country has at length afforded him one of those memorials which are of least value when most merited, and which contribute more to the honour of the living than of the dead. An obelisk, nineteen feet square at the base, and extending to the height of one hundred and three feet, was lately erected to his memory at the village of Killearn. The plan was suggested by the late Robert Dunmore, Esq. to a very numerous company assembled in the house of a gentleman in that vicinity. Professor Richardson, well known as a successful

[p] Jos. Scaligeri Opuscula, p. 286. Paris. 1610, 4to.

cultivator of polite literature, was present on the occasion. A subscription was immediately opened, and nearly completed, by those classical guests; and one of their number, the late Mr. Craig, a nephew of Thomson, furnished the architectural design as his contribution.[q] To this memorial of departed genius the intelligent traveller resorts with veneration and enthusiasm.

Buchanan had experienced many of the vicissitudes of human life, and, in every situation, had adhered to those maxims of conduct which he deemed honourable. His integrity was stern and inflexible: what has been regarded as the least immaculate part of his character, naturally resulted from the prominent qualities of a mind which could not sufficiently accommodate itself to the frailties of mankind. The misdeeds of the ill-fated queen were, in his opinion, such as dissolved every tie by which he might once be bound: her conduct, he supposed, had not only destroyed her hereditary claims of allegiance, but had even reflected disgrace and infamy on human nature. This sentiment, whatever may be the legitimacy of its origin, was certainly entertained by Buchanan; who has accordingly vented his unbounded indignation in terms which cannot otherwise be justified. But the age in which he lived was rude and boisterous; nor did the exquisite cultivation of his mind entirely defend him

[q] Richardson's Poems and Plays, vol. i, p. 126.

from the general contagion. He was subject to the nice and irritable feelings which frequently attend exalted genius; enthusiastic in his attachment, and violent in his resentment; equally sincere in his love and in his hatred. His friends, among whom he numbered some of the most distinguished characters of that æra, regarded him with a warmth of affection which intellectual eminence cannot alone secure. Of an open and generous disposition, he displayed the enviable qualities which render domestic intercourse profitable and interesting. The general voice had awarded him a preëminence in literature that seemed to preclude all hopes of rivalship: but his estimate of his own attainments was uniformly consistent with perfect modesty; and no man could evince himself more willing to acknowledge genuine merit in other candidates for fame. This affability, united to the charms of a brilliant conversation, rendered his society highly acceptable to persons of the most opposite denominations. His countenance was stern and austere, but his heart soft and humane. In his writings, he inculcates the principles of patriotism and benevolence; and in his commerce with the world, he did not depart from his solitary speculations. His patriotism was of that unadulterated species which flows from general philanthropy: his large soul embraced the common family of mankind, but his affections taught him that his first regards

were due to the barren land from which he derived his birth. Notwithstanding his long habituation to an academical life, his manners betrayed none of the peculiarities of a mere pedagogue. During his latter years, when his constitution was broken by complicated diseases, and his mind sick of terrestrial objects, he became negligent in his dress, and perhaps somewhat inattentive to the ceremonials of private intercourse; but his general character was that of a man conspicuous for the urbanity of his wit.[r] His conversation was alternately facetious and instructive. George Buchanan's wit is still proverbial among his countrymen; and a motley collection of his supposed repartees and adventures is one of the most common books in the libraries of the Scotish peasantry. His humour was however of a more dignified denomination than it is there represented; nature seemed to have intended him for the ornament and reform-

[r] "Albeit, in his person, behaviour, and fashion, hee was roughhewen, slovenly, and rude, seldome caring for a better outside than a rugge-gowne girt close about him, yet his inside and conceipt in poesie was most riche, and his sweetnesse and facilitie in a verse unimitably excellent." (Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 91, edit. Lond. 1634, 4to.) "Erat austero supercilio," says David Buchanan, "et toto corporis habitu (imo moribus hic noster) subagrestis; sed stylo et sermone perurbanus, quum sæpissime, vel in seriis, multo cum sale jocaretur. Denique vir quem mirari facilius, quam digne prædicare possis." *(De Scriptoribus Scotis Illustribus.* MS. in Bib. Jurid.) Both these writers seem to have expressed themselves in too unqualified terms; and their observations, as must appear in the course of these pages, could hardly apply to Buchanan in his better days.

ation of a court.[1] The native elegance of his mind, and the splendour of his reputation, secured him the utmost respect and deference from such of his countrymen as were not separated from him by the rancour of political zeal: and although he even assumed considerable latitude in censuring the errors of exalted station, yet the dignified simplicity of his manners prevented his liberties from exciting resentment. Conscious of personal worth and of intrinsic greatness, he did not fail to assert his own privileges: mere superiority of rank was not capable of alluring him to a servile and degrading attachment; but it was equally incapable of provoking his envy or malice. In the course of his chequered life, he found himself not unfrequently exposed to the miseries of poverty; but his philosophical mind never learned to stoop to the suggestions of sordid prudence. Although he at length enjoyed one of the great offices of the crown, and possessed other sources of emolument, yet his liberality seems to have encreased in proportion to his opulence; he purchased no estates, and had no hoards of treasure to bequeath. Of his prodigality or ostentation no evidence occurs: it

[1] "Aiunt Buchananum," says Daniel Heinsius, "virum suo sæculo majorem . . . ad reginam suam, monstrum illud fœminæ, attulisse quod mirari satis ipsa non posset. Nam cum affectaret libertatem quamdam in censura morum, diluebat specie simplicitatis omnem protinus offensam. Ut non tantum aulæ natus videretur, sed et huic emendandæ." (Burmanni *Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. ii, p. 451.)

is not therefore unreasonable to conclude that the principal charms of his wealth arose from its application to benevolent purposes. Of the truth of the Christian religion, and consequently of its eternal moment, his conviction seems to have been complete and uniform. Sir James Melvil, although his political enemy, has candidly represented him as a man of piety. The nature of his attachment to the reformation was consistent with his usual wisdom: he eagerly hailed the dawn of an æra which promised to relieve the world of enormous delusion, and of enormous profligacy; but he certainly could not approve the excesses of a party which evinced sufficient inclination, as soon as it possessed sufficient power, to tyrannize over the consciences of mankind. The extravagances of John Knox, with whom he appears to have been personally acquainted, and who was undoubtedly a most powerful champion in a cause of which they entertained the same general sentiments, have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan. He was too delicate to devour popular creeds, and too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves been roused to strenuous action by the bitterness of persecution.

Nor was the genius of Buchanan less variegated than his life. In his numerous writings, he discovers a vigorous and mature combination of

talents which have seldom been found united in equal perfection. According to the common opinion, intellectual superiority is almost invariably circumscribed by one of the two grand partitions which philosophers have delineated; it is either founded on the predominancy of those capabilities which constitute what is termed the imagination, or of those which in contradistinction are denominated the understanding. These different powers of exertion, though certainly not incompatible with each other, are but rarely found to coalesce in equal maturity. Buchanan has however displayed them in the same high degree of perfection. To an imagination excursive and brilliant, he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound: Turnebus, who was associated with him in the same college, and whose decisions will not be rashly controverted, has characterized him as a man of consummate erudition. Most of the ancient writers had limited their aspiring hopes to one department of literature; and even to excel in one, demands the happy perseverence of a cultivated genius. Plato despaired of securing a reputation by his poetry; the poetical attempts of Cicero, though less contemptible perhaps than they are commonly represented, would not have been sufficient to transmit an illustrious name to future ages. Buchanan has not only attained to excel-

lence in each species of composition, but in each species has displayed a variety of excellence: in philosophical dialogue and historical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram, and satire, he has never been equalled in modern, and hardly surpassed in ancient times. A few Roman poets of the purest age have excelled him in their several provinces; but none of them has evinced the same capability of universal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language which they had learned from their mothers; but its very acquisition was to Buchanan the result of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity, the elegance, and freedom of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the classical restraints which shrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteristic energy of strong and original sentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and invests them with language equally polished and appropriate. His diction uniformly displays a happy vein of elegant and masculine simplicity; and is distinguished by that propriety and perspicuity, which can only be attained by a man perfectly master of his own ideas, and of the language in which he writes. The variety of his poetical measures is immense, and to each species he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The style of his prose exhibits correspondent beauties; nor is it chequered by phraseologies

unsuitable in that mode of composition. His diction, whether in prose or verse, is not a tissue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the same originality and elegance; no historian has so completely imbibed the genius of antiquity, without being betrayed into servile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit; they have added no inconsiderable influx to the general stream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence, of his ecclesiastical satires, must have tended to foment the genial flame of reformation; and his political speculations are evidently those of a man who had nobly soared beyond the narrow limits of his age.

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